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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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mistakes are mistakes, where these mistakes are, and how they are going to find the detailed methods to correct them. We all have this kind of experience: people often must go through zigzags and repetitions in perceiving problems and

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PARTY AND STATE

DAZHAI CANDIDATE LOSES ELECTION TO 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 1, 20 Apr 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Tian Peizhi [3944 1014 2784]: "The Failure of a Well-Known Figure to Win Election"]

[Text] The famous person who is the subject of this article is none other than the leading cadre of Dazhai. His is a case everyone is familiar with.

"The Dazhai representative figure failed to be elected to the 12th Party Congress." This has been a topic discussed by many of the cadres and people of Shanxi.

Last year, from 9 December to the 13th, the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee convened a party delegate conference in Taiyuan to elect delegates to attend the 12th Party Congress. The result was that the Dazhai representative figure who was nominated as a candidate failed to be elected.

Before reporting on these events, I cannot help but recall an event that occurred 6 years ago. In that session there was also a leading cadre who failed to be elected to the National Party Congress. However, that legitimate election was nonetheless described as an "anti-party affair" in which "the CCP did not elect the CCP." Quite a few comrades who cast opposing ballots were subsequently criticized, to the point of becoming targets of attack. Even this reporter, narrowly escaped disaster as a result of having publicized the circumstances of this election.

Although there are certain similarities in the course of history--the same way in which two leading cadres lost the election--nevertheless the atmosphere on this occasion was decidedly different. Given that the party's practice of democracy 6 years ago was not yet sound, the fact is that this time I witnessed genuine democracy within the party which further strengthened my revolutionary sense of duty as a reporter.

As early as August of last year, the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee convened the enlarged session of the standing committee. When they considered the preliminary list of candidates from Shanxi to attend the 12th Party Congress, the vast majority of comrades did not endorse the Dazhai representative figure. When the enlarged sessions of the standing committees in each locality, municipality and county and the party members of the organs under direct control of the province discussed the preliminary list of candidates for the 12th Party Congress, the vast majority of

to which everybody must adhere. Yet some people somehow feel rather repulsed and [mistakenly] feel these four basic principles are four "sticks." Once they hear others talk about the four basic principles, they think their own hands and feet are being tied and their freedoms are being restricted, and they thereby openly trumpet about wanting to "break through." In reality, adhering to the four

party members of the enlarged sessions of the local, municipal and county standing committees in Jinzhong Prefecture who discussed the preliminary list of candidates for the 12th Party Congress, only 10 percent ratified his nomination.

In my opinion, the main reason this situation occurred is that after the smashing of the "gang of four," the democratic traditions of the party were just in the process of being restored. The eighth item in guiding principles for Inner-Party Political Life clearly states: "Elections must foster the democratic spirit to the utmost and accurately reflect the will of the voters" and "It is necessary to resolutely oppose and guard against infringement upon the right of party members to vote, making elections become mere formality and to discourage voters from expressing their will." In Shanxi Province, that so-called unusual situation in which "opposing the Dazhai representative figure" was seen as tantamount to "opposing Dazhai" has already become a thing of the past. Furthermore, not electing him to the 12th Party Congress was really not equivalent to denying his past accomplishments and correct actions. Is it possible that the correct opinions of the majority of party members should not be reflected? The masses, cadres and most party members had the courage to speak the truth, they dared to exercise their own democratic rights. This is the new exhilarating and uplifting atmosphere.

The democratic spirit of the party members during the delegate conference of the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee has rarely been seen before. Most party delegates both affirmed the Dazhai representative figure past achievements and contributions and exposed his errors and problems.

In summary, his major errors consist of the following: Since the "Great Cultural Revolution" he has pursued the "left" deviationist line politically and economically, he has engaged in organizational rationalism, he has attached large numbers of cadres and people, he has wreaked havoc, and he has impeded and disrupted the development of productive forces. At the same time, he has engaged in trickery, made false reports of output and sought honor through fraud and deception. More seriously, following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, he continued to oppose the directives of the party central committee thereby bringing great harm to the party's cause. This clearly demonstrates that he lacked the qualifications to be a delegate.

During this session the leadership repeatedly explained that to nominate him as a delegate candidate would embody the party spirit of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones. They further pointed out that he recently examined himself and acknowledged his own errors. Nevertheless he still lost the election. In the final analysis he brought this on himself. This incident makes it clear that even if a person has acted correctly, once he divorces himself from the masses and deviates from the correct party line it is inevitable that he will lose the confidence of the people.

Quite a few delegates said to me: "When we have strayed from our units, many party members have urged us: 'You should truthfully represent the views of party members, you must not elect him delegate.' Under these circumstances if we were to vote in his favor, how could we justify this to party members on our return?"

This was an election that truly reflected the will of the voters. The period when the "gang of four" ran amuck and trampled on democracy has already passed, never to return.

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disease. The knife of a surgical operation may kill a person, but it may also save a person; so one should not be afraid or start to curse as soon as one sees such a knife. Correct criticism is a good thing and should be welcomed. Whether in criticism or in counter-criticism, we must lay out the facts and use reason in order to persuade people to accept the truth.

NEW CCP BRANCH IS BORN AT DAZHAI

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 1, 20 Apr 81 pp 21-22

[Article by Zhang Jinxing [1728 6651 5281] and Jin Jiasheng [6855 0857 5716]: "The Birth of a New Party Branch at Dazhai"]

[Text] Upon hearing that a new party branch has come into being at Dazhai, we were very eager to pay a visit. In the past we have frequently visited Dazhai, however, on this occasion we sensed a new atmosphere.

One thing made a strong impression: even though the superficial "Red fire" of the past was no longer seen, the fervor remaining in the hearts of the people of Dazhai was very striking. The most conspicuous expression of this was their courage in talking about their intimate feelings.

In earlier days Dazhai used to be a dynamic and vital place but the deathly silence created by the feudalistic patriarchal rule hidden by external appearances has made the people feel stifled. When we came here with numerous colleagues during that period it was difficult to even conduct a normal interview. As soon as the acting host of Dazhai caught sight of reporters he would invariably hold his tongue and say nothing concerning the "political affairs" of Dazhai. At best he would only exchange pleasantries and that is all. Several colleagues who had stayed here for many years dared to cry out only as they were leaving: "We haven't yet made it past the gatepost to Dazhai!"

At the present time all this has become a thing of the past. This time as I arrived in Dazhai, not long after the celebration of Spring Festival, a play was in progress in the village. It differed from the past in that it was no longer a "special honorary performance" presented by a professional theater company but rather a play put on by a hired amateur theater troupe. During the next several days relatives and friends milled around throughout the village. Streets and lanes had a cheerful and relaxed atmosphere. When many commune members and cadres met us, they were able to openly and freely. Although this was quite common in other mountain villages, in Dazhai it was a novelty. For this was, after all, the first time that the representative figure of Dazhai had broken with the conventions of that period.

When we talked with the new branch secretary Jia Changsuo [6328 7022 6956] we quite naturally recalled a favorite phrase of his: "We could never talk like that."

Jia Changsuo, a 35 year old man of few words, was very sincere and straightforward. He has always lead the commune members along the forefront of positive action. He has never been one to put himself in the limelight or to take part in thoughtless chatter. He is incapable of that.

Jia Changsuo briefed us on the experience of re-electing the party branch. In addition to the re-election and re-appointment of the incumbent deputy secretary Liang Bianliang [2733 0189 5328] and the incumbent branch committee members Song Liying [1345 4539 5391] and Jia Laiheng [6328 0171 1854], four new members were elected: Jia Chang suo, branch secretary; Li Youming [2621 2589 0730], deputy branch secretary and brigade chief; the 29-year old bright and capable bookkeeper Zhao Cuntang [6392 1317 2768], branch committee member; Guo Ailian [6753 1947 5571] who for many years held the post of Chairman of the Women Delegates Conference, branch committee member. Party members and commune members praised the new body as being "quite well put together." Jia Chengrang [6328 2110 6245], deputy secretary in the Dazhai Commune Party Committee of the former party branch committee laughingly said: "The incumbents are still competent and the newly elected make promising successors."

The reason everyone felt so satisfied was because this election truly embodied the democratic spirit. How were all the preceding party branches formed? To get an idea of what went on, listen to what Song Liying of the old party branch committee had to say: "It used to be that he (referring to the representative personage of Dazhai) would say that today we need a deputy secretary and with this one sentence you would become a deputy secretary. The next day he would say that we have too many deputy secretaries, followed by your dismissal. At that time, with the circumstances changing day to day, even I could not say for sure what my own position was."

This election certainly set a precedent for Dazhai. First of all, the opinions of the people were solicited from far and wide, then a list of candidates was proposed by party members. After having given it thorough consideration, party members voted to determine the nine candidates. Jia Changsuo had held the post of deputy brigade chief in the branch committee for many years and had much popular support. However, merely because the Dazhai representative personage felt dissatisfied with him, he brought criminal charges against him and dismissed him from all his duties. As a result of this, Jia's prestige grew even greater. Last year the party branch announced his rehabilitation. In this election he was the only one to be included on the list of candidates with full backing.

At the formal election, the voting method adopted was that of majority vote and secret balloting. This, too, was unprecedented in Dazhai. As for that once mighty representative personage, the "patriarch" of Dazhai, not one person nominated him.

After the new body was formed, the first thing they did was to sum up the moral lesson of this experience. Jia Changsuo discussed five articles at the conference of all commune members. Everyone felt very pleased with this and said that they had never heard of Dazhai having such honest and realistic self-criticism before.

For many years the people had no choice but to praise the Dazhai representative personage and that set of leftist things that he preached. Even the higher author-

ities often had to take their cue from the expression in his eyes, otherwise they would be labeled at every turn as "anti-Dazhai" or as having questionable "points of view" etc. Consequently, he caused great unrest throughout Dazhai and incurred widespread resentment. In view of this situation, as soon as the new party branch was established it focused on reviving the party's good traditions and good style of work as well as improving relations between the party and the people and among close neighbors. During this year's Spring Festival they supplied the teachers dining hall at the Dazhai school with 60 jin of pork and sold each teacher 10 jin of wheat. In addition, they presented 3 jin of Dazhai's locally produced white wine to the reception center. The comrades said: "Even though there may not be much of this wine, its effect is great." These past few years there have been some cadres at Dazhai who have had relatively spacious living quarters. Commune members have been reluctant to speak up about this. The new party branch investigated the demands of the people and promptly adjusted the living quarters for over 40 households who had inferior housing. In recent years, some veteran party branch committee members have not been putting sufficient time into labor participation yet their recorded work points and payments received, in actual fact, have been quite substantial. The people have complained about this. The new party branch considered the views of the commune members to be reasonable. The former party branch used to shout high sounding words in vain telling the cadres not to add on extra work points. In practice, however, it was very difficult to carry out. The recording of the old cadres compensation for labor was indeed beset with problems. Lately, taking into account these old comrades' earlier contributions and their fragile and sickly condition, the new party branch clearly stipulated that besides participating in as much labor as they are able, they may still receive a share of subsidiary work points. This democratic style of work and the attitude of seeking truth from facts of the new party branch has won the full admiration and acceptance of the people. In present day Dazhai that oppressive atmosphere caused by an individual or a small minority making arbitrary decisions has already been eliminated. The new party branch constantly heeds the voice and criticism of the masses. This is truly an excellent beginning.

At present the new party branch of Dazhai is in the process of leading the commune members in further implementing the party's rural economic policies. When it came time to depart, Jia Changsuo enthusiastically urged us to return. We certainly will come back, for it is the arduous struggle and the self-reliance of the people of Dazhai that draws us to this place.

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REGULAR PARTY ACTIVITIES RESUMED IN SHANXI

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 81 p 1

[Article by Zhu Jichu [4281 1015 5969]: "Leading Party Members Take Part in Regular Party Activities"]

[Text] The party organizations in Shanxi have resumed and strengthened the system of party activities in accordance with the "code of internal party political activities." Leading members of party organizations at various levels take the lead in joining the activities and set an example to the rank-and-file of the party, playing an important role in regular party activities and increasing the fighting strength of the party.

For approximately the past year, standing committee members of the provincial party committee, in their capacity as ordinary party members, have gone to the branches and groups of their units and, in accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, persisted in regular activities of the organization and restored the system of holding a meeting of standing committee members for regular party activities once every 6 months. Inspired by members of the standing committee, a number of leading party cadres at the county level and above in Shanxi are able to take part in regular party activities conscientiously. Twelve of the 13 standing committee members of the Yanbei Prefecture party committee take part in their branch party activities. Of the 118 standing committee members in 9 counties and wards, 102 conscientiously take part in party activities of their groups. Party organizations at the basic level in the province have resumed and strengthened the system of "three meetings and one course." To place party activities on a regular and institutionalized basis, the vast majority of party organizations have arranged for meeting records on activities to be kept and, after each meeting, a special report on meeting records should be sent to the party organizations at the higher level. At the same time, the provincial, prefecture and county organizations have irregularly sent for meeting records of their subordinate party organizations for perusal and they have sent inspectors to check on these organizations' persistence in party activities. Those units upholding the system effectively, whose leaders take part in party activities, will be cited; those units upholding the system with poor results, whose leaders seldom take part in party activities, will be criticized and helped.

Having studied the "code" and the draft revision of the party constitution, particularly the documents of the Central Work Conference, party organizations at

various levels have decided to accept as important features of party activities the way party organizations have implemented the guiding principles of the party. The standing committee of the Yuncheng Prefecture committee once held two meetings for party activities. In these meetings, they recalled and summed up the grave error committed by Zhang Huaying [1728 2037 5391], former main responsible person of the prefecture committee, who had resisted the line and policies of the Third Plenum. In doing so, they examined their own thought and work, thereby distinguishing right and wrong, finding their bearings and strengthening their unity. Under the ideological influence of the "leftist" deviation, the provincial department of the textile industry blindly chose sites for building plants without regard to objective conditions which resulted in heavy economic losses. Leading party cadres of the party organization for this department and the government office conscientiously studied the Central Committee documents No 1 and 2, looked back on and summed up their own experiences and lessons, got rid of the "leftist" influence and enthusiastically implemented the readjustment policy. At a meeting for activities of party organizations, members of the party branch for the Jingming Brigade in Quwo County studied the documents of the Central Committee and discussed the question--"Is the production responsibility system progress or retrogression?"--in light of actual conditions, straightened out their five fears--"deviation from principle and line," constant change of policies, demoralization of commune members, lack of authority, and overturn of the organizational structure--and heightened their awareness of the need to enforce the responsibility system in agricultural production.

Many responsible comrades of our party organizations in Shanxi have realized from their experiences and the lessons of party activities that struggle which goes too far is an important factor in undermining the unity of the party and sapping its fighting strength and that criticism and self-criticism is an important condition for strengthening the unity of the party and increasing its fighting strength. With this realization they are able to take the lead in conducting criticism and self-criticism according to the policy of unity-criticism-unity. A standing committee member of the party committee for the Jingwei Textile Mill in Yuci sought personal privileges, this was very disruptive among the masses. The party committee for this textile mill held a standing committee meeting for party activities, during which his error was solemnly criticized and proper arrangements were made for dealing with the case, thereby rectifying the party style and strengthening relations with the masses.

For the past year or more, leading members of party organizations have persisted in taking part in party activities, strengthened party building, and strengthened and improved party leadership with great results. But, compared with the Tenan experience and the initial post-liberation period, activities of party organizations are still far behind. At the same time, meetings for party activities are not held regularly and seriously and, in some cases, they are held with poor results. Some leading party cadres are not able to take part as ordinary party members in meetings for party activities. This being the case, further efforts have to be exerted in order to uphold a system of meetings for party activities. The organization department of the Shanxi Prefecture Central Committee studied and worked out several measures for pushing party organizations to uphold the system. On the basis of recalling and summing up their bitter lessons of patriarchal

behavior, the Standing Committee of Xiyang County Central Committee worked out a resolution launching criticism and self-criticism, opposing the practice of keeping on good terms, encouraging the practice of observing discipline, and opposing liberalism. They are determined to make the party democratic activity meetings a success.

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EFFECTIVE WAYS TO STUDY 'RESOLUTION' DISCUSSED IN SHAANXI

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by our reporter Dai Guoxian [2071 0948 6343]: "Shaanxi Party Standing Committee Discusses How To Study 'Resolution' Well"]

[Text] "The 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China' adopted by the Sixth Plenum is our sharp ideological weapon for unifying our understanding, achieving unity and forging ahead, but we have to go through a process of study before we can achieve the desired objective. The central task in the second half of this year is to grasp study of the 'Resolution' conscientiously." This was a question specially emphasized by Comrade Zhang Ze [4545 3419], secretary of the provincial party committee at an enlarged symposium for studying the "Resolution" on the afternoon of July 1.

At the symposium, responsible comrades from the standing committee of the provincial party committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial CCP Central Committee, and various departments and committees of the provincial party committee conscientiously discussed the question of how to study the "Resolution" well.

They took the view that the "Resolution" adopted by the Sixth Plenum was a historical document and that a grasp of the "Resolution" will have a far-reaching effect on the economic readjustment and various kinds of work and will be of momentous significance in unifying the whole party and implementing the correct line and policies of the party formulated since the Third Plenum. They said: The greatest characteristic of the "Resolution" is that it seeks truth in facts, affirms achievements as they are, admits mistakes as they are, conceals no facts, refrains from raising everything to the plane of principle, and makes a clear-cut and appropriate estimate of merits and demerits. To study the "Resolution," it will be necessary to promote the Marxist style of study and method of thinking, to make a historical analysis of the historical problems from the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and to distinguish achievements from errors, the mainstream from the tributaries, and the substance from the phenomenon. Furthermore, they took the view that in studying the "Resolution," emphasis should be placed on this study by leading cadres, particularly those at the county level and above. After the decision of the Sixth Plenum is transmitted to all levels, leading cadres at the county level and above may be organized

in separate groups to study the resolution in study courses or in other appropriate forms. They should be allowed to open their hearts and speak everything on their minds. They should grasp the main issues instead of quibbling over side issues and words. Based on extensively listening to different opinions, they should be purposefully guided to deepen their studies step by step so as to bring their understanding gradually into line with the "Resolution."

Those present at the symposium pointed out: In the course of studying the resolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position, the scientific and guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought as well as the great achievements over the past 32 years since the founding of the Republic should be affirmed in the first place; the correct road to building a modern and powerful socialist country in light of the conditions in our country as formulated since the Third Plenum should also be affirmed. It should be clearly understood that the aim of summing up historical experience is to unite and look forward, to bring the thinking of everybody into line with the basic conclusion drawn in the "Resolution" and to strive for a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

Prior to the symposium, the participants had listened and watched the proceedings of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Hu Yaobang's [5170 5069 6721] important speech in Beijing.

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CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM NEEDED TO SOLVE PARTY PROBLEMS

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Deng Yixin [6772 0110 2450]: "Insist on Using the Method of Criticism and Self-Criticism To Solve Intraparty Contradictions"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is the core force leading our cause. A very important reason why our party is powerful is that it is able to defeat the sabotage of all alien forces through the conquest of its own defects and mistakes. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China": "We must be good at cleansing the dust from ourselves regularly in order to retain forever our revolutionary youth as the party in power." How can we achieve this? Viewed from the historical experience summed up by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" [passed by] the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in order to strengthen our party's ideological construction and organizational construction in the new historical period, we must correctly recognize the contradictions existing within the party and persist in using the method of criticism and self-criticism to solve such intraparty contradictions scientifically.

The 60 years of our party's experience have repeatedly proved that intraparty contradictions always exist; this is a reflection within the party of the class contradictions and contradictions between new and old things in society. In the activities of the party the scientific method for handling superior-subordinate relations, left-right relations, and mutual relations is to let everybody speak sincerely and frankly and to seek truth from facts in carrying out both self-criticism and mutual criticism. Using this method can make intraparty life normal, make party construction more scientific and ideologically relevant, and create only a good effect and not side effects; furthermore, those with unwholesome intentions would be unable to take advantage of it. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We have this Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism with which we can eliminate bad workstyles and preserve good workstyles." Today we are faced with many new situations and new problems; in addition, ours is a large party of 39 million members in power; this situation is likely to cause some comrades to develop differing degrees of feelings of pride and complacency and to become infected with bureaucratic habits. Hence, in the matter of party building, we should pay full attention to this successful experience by giving scope to the fine workstyle of criticism and self-criticism. Insofar as every communist is

concerned, consciously developing self-criticism is a manifestation of pure party character and heightened consciousness; correctly carrying out criticism is a demonstration of normal intraparty relations. Insofar as the whole party is concerned, regular application of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism is a conspicuous indicator of the difference between our party and any other political party, and is a conspicuous indicator of our party's prosperity and development.

To solve intraparty contradictions, we must use the method of criticism and self-criticism. This is first of all determined by the nature and content of intraparty contradictions. Intraparty contradictions are numerous. In our society, after the exploitive classes are eliminated as classes, class struggle still exists in certain realms because of domestic factors and international influence; the ideological influence of the exploitive classes and other nonproletarian classes still exists. Thus, the dust of capitalism, feudalism, and disposition of small-scale production all rush at us, making it inevitable for contradictions between proletarian thinking and nonproletarian thinking and contradictions between correct thinking and erroneous thinking to be reflected within the party. But these contradictions are basically a kind of ideological contradiction. That is to say, they are basically contradictions in workstyle, thinking style, and lifestyle, contradictions between materialism and idealism, contradictions between dialectics and metaphysics. The nature of those kinds of contradictions is different from that of class contradictions, and still more so from contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. They are contradictions among the people and, generally speaking, internal contradictions among revolutionary comrades struggling for the communist cause. This being the case, we can only use democratic methods, the methods of persuasion and education, and the method of criticism and self-criticism to bring about solutions to these contradictions. As for those metamorphic, qualitatively changed elements who have sneaked into the party, elements who violate the law and discipline, alien class elements, and hidden counterrevolutionaries: our struggle with them, on the one hand, goes beyond the realm of intraparty contradictions; on the other hand, once such contradictions appear within the party, we must first expose them within the party and then adopt appropriate legal forms to solve them. But we must see that the appearance of such situations is generally limited to individual cases.

Correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism to solve intraparty contradictions means "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades" (Mao Zedong, "Our Study and the Current Situation").

Clarity in ideology means that on important questions--that is, on questions of right and wrong relating to the party and the interests of the people--every communist should adhere to truth, adhere to the party's principles in a clear-cut manner, and clearly demonstrate one's own attitude by indicating what one supports and what one opposes; [a communist] can never abandon such principles and tolerate the unhindered spreading of errors. Refraining from criticizing errors can only damage the proletarian character of our party. We know that nonproletarian ideas and erroneous ideas, reflected in various ways, are erosive to the party's organic body. Thus, through criticism we must enable the comrades who commit mistakes and the comrades who have not yet committed mistakes to perceive why certain

mistakes are mistakes, where these mistakes are, and how they are going to find the detailed methods to correct them. We all have this kind of experience: people often must go through zigzags and repetitions in perceiving problems and accepting truths. Therefore we cannot just think of simplicity and pleasure in trying to solve intraparty contradictions. Enable people to speak boldly, and make it possible for everybody to reason; try to reason clearly, and make it possible for reason to be heard in everything: only thus will the situation be of benefit to the clarification of ideology, the elucidation of right and wrong, and the elevation of the party's ideological level and fighting stamina.

Unity among comrades may be said to be the point of departure as well as the destination for us to launch criticism and self-criticism. Since intraparty contradictions are a kind of ideological contradiction, then criticism of mistakes is intended precisely to have the ideology of comrades who commit mistakes corrected so that all can be united in the march forward. This can be done only by the method of calmly laying out the facts in the manner of a gentle breeze and a mild rain and reasoning, by developing criticism and self-criticism. Toward comrades who have made mistakes, or who have even made serious mistakes and become incorrigible, we should try to persuade and educate them with a loving, sympathetic attitude, and must not resort to excessive struggle. We must create an atmosphere so that the majority of people within the party, including those who have made mistakes, will not become fearful once they hear about criticism. When we criticize mistakes, we must not resort to subjective judgment, suppression with preponderant power, or forced analogy and farfetched comparison; instead, we must proceed from reality in everything, specify mistakes as they are without any coverup or exaggeration, and enlighten the comrades who have made mistakes to consciously examine their mistakes and raise their own consciousness. Meanwhile, in the case of comrades who accept criticism willingly, once they have correctly understood their mistakes and have begun to change their behavior, we must not continue to haggle over their mistakes but must create more propitious conditions for them to correct them. We must not discriminate against them, but must support them to correct their mistakes in their work.

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CSO: 4005/842

PARTY AND STATE

RELEVANT CRITICISM SAID NOT A RETURN TO 'BIG STICK'

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Ming [2799 2494] and Qi Sheng [7871 0524]: "Criticism and 'the Stick'"]

[Text] A stick is ordinarily an instrument cut from a branch of a tree or a bamboo tree, or made of metal. People come into contact with it regularly in their daily life and can hardly do without it in handling their basic necessities of life. Yet, if the use of this "stick" is borrowed in the social realm and ideological realm, it somehow becomes a very bad thing and has a very bad reputation; people loathe it and resent it.

During the 10-year period of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the power they wielded to cause "labels" to fly everywhere and "the stick" to strike everywhere. Seizing upon a word or a phrase uttered by certain people, they raised everything to the plane of a principle, exaggerated at random, and even fabricated facts from whole cloth, thereby trumping up criminal charges against them; as a result, not a few cadres and the masses innocently suffered under their attacks and persecutions. Under such circumstances, "the stick" also became the equivalent to persecution or attack against others.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has devoted a great deal of energy to reversing the condition under which inner-party political life remained abnormal. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" reiterated the "three not's" principle for us to firmly carry out: "Do not seize on another's shortcomings and blow them up; do not put labels on people; and do not use the big stick." This has created good conditions for us to relieve ourselves of ideological concerns, to speak as we wish when discussing problems, to speak the truth, and to address ourselves to realities. We are pleased to see that a political situation with both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness is now taking shape.

But for a period of time we have also heard about a certain kind of reaction. For example, the socialist path, people's democratic dictatorship, leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought are political principles

to which everybody must adhere. Yet some people somehow feel rather repulsed and [mistakenly] feel these four basic principles are four "sticks." Once they hear others talk about the four basic principles, they think their own hands and feet are being tied and their freedoms are being restricted, and they thereby openly trumpet about wanting to "break through." In reality, adhering to the four basic principles is meant precisely to protect the greatest freedom of the greatest majority. It is not permissible to swing the stick at random against things which do not run counter to the four basic principles. We definitely cannot practice "absolute democracy" or "pure freedom" apart from the four basic principles. We all know that "absolute democracy" and "pure freedom" simply do not exist in this world. In the modern capitalist countries where "freedoms" are flaunted, the citizens' freedom of speech cannot go beyond legally prescribed limits. To those who wish to do whatever they please, the four basic principles surely constitute a kind of constraint, but such constraint is something that we cannot do without. This is because these [principles] represent the fundamental interests of the people and have to do with the future and destiny of the party and state. If we were to abandon them, we would have no hope for the construction of the four modernizations, our nation would be subjected to unprecedented disasters, and the people of the whole country would be subjected to the hefty flail of the foreign stick of imperialism and the indigenous stick of the landlord and bourgeois classes. Such a miserable and painful scene, which one can hardly bear to look back on, is profoundly understood by those who have lived in old China.

Some people even take criticism against wrong things as "swinging the stick." When they see newspapers and journals putting forth critical opinions on some articles and works, they are prone to say that now "the stick is being swung" again and to express thereby their concern that what little democracy already exists is liable to be "swept really clean like a vast expanse of whiteness," or they even take such criticism as "trampling, devastation, and chopping." Such a view is also incorrect. We should see very clearly that our country at present is at a historical turning point; the people's thinking is very lively, but there also appears in it some confusion, and there are both "leftist" and rightist things. With respect to these erroneous things, we cannot, on the one hand, grab one point without paying attention to the others, begin to swing our stick, and thereby subject people to destruction; nor can we, on the other hand, pretend to listen but hear nothing, look but see nothing, fail to distinguish between right and wrong, and let everything spread. Timely, correct criticism of various erroneous ideas is indispensable for us to march triumphantly forward along the correct, scientific path. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In our society, revolutionary, combative criticism and counter-criticism are a good way to expose contradictions, solve contradictions, develop science and art, and do various kinds of work well." Some people write articles or literary works with an erroneous viewpoint of even grave errors, and others put forward critical opinions: this is entirely normal. If, once others start to criticize, one immediately says that "the stick is being swung," would this not be swinging "the stick" of "no criticism" against others in reverse? If others criticize incorrectly, one can counter-criticize, but one cannot take all criticism as "swinging the stick." The purpose of criticism is to "cure the disease to save the patient." This requires that the critic must have the intention to save others; and one being criticized must not resent the treatment by hiding his

disease. The knife of a surgical operation may kill a person, but it may also save a person; so one should not be afraid or start to curse as soon as one sees such a knife. Correct criticism is a good thing and should be welcomed. Whether in criticism or in counter criticism, we must lay out the facts and use reason in order to persuade people; we must not threaten or beat people with "the stick." Only through correct criticism and counter criticism can mistakes be corrected, truths be developed, and the people's enterprises become more prosperous.

As for isolated individuals who take our crackdown on reactionary forces and reactionary elements as "swinging the stick," that [view is even more erroneous. While class struggle is no longer our principal contradiction today, it has still not ended. Just as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" points out, it "still exists in certain realms continually." Society still has antiparty, antisocialist, hostile forces and a handful of newly emergent counterrevolutionaries. With respect to these people, we cannot be kindhearted and soft and treat them lightly. We must carry out a resolute struggle against them and legally crack down on them with fortitude. This is absolutely very different from the way the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques slandered and entrapped good people, swung their stick at random, and practiced feudal fascist dictatorship. If we failed to [carry out this struggle, the people's democratic dictatorship would not be consolidated, the political situation of stability and unity would suffer sabotage, and the construction of the socialist four modernizations would not be realized. Everyone can understand this.

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CSO: 4005/858

PARTY AND STATE

DARE TO CRITICIZE MISTAKES, EXPOSE CONTRADICTIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Ma Guozheng [7456 0948 1767]: "Arrogance, Criticism, and Other Things"]

[Text] Differences in beliefs and in world outlook will often lead people to come up with different conclusions on matters concerning the value of other people and events.

A large percentage of cadres and intellectuals have displayed a daring spirit to think and speak out on issues, and to do others justice. They have displayed the courage to criticize erroneous ideas and to suggest effective solutions for problems in work. They have also been able to point out categorically imperfections in the plans and operational regulations drafted by their leadership and to recommend reasonable solutions. Such behavior, manifesting a decent style of work and a high sense of responsibility, has been described by some people as a demonstration of "arrogance." Actually, they should be praised for displaying a spirit of daring to think independently and for following a scientific approach to work. Such initiative should be encouraged, while efforts must be made to carry forward this good tradition. Only thus can we bring their professional skills and creative spirit into full play and pool the wisdom of the masses for the benefit of our constructive undertakings.

By saying this, I do not mean encouraging people to "be arrogant because of their talent" and to look down on everyone. In effect, the spirit of daring to do justice to others and of arrogance are two entirely different matters. Needless to say, the demarcation between these two different terms is very clear. True, there are people who are so arrogant and self-conceited that they have refused to acknowledge their shortcomings and mistakes and have rejected correct opinions and criticism. This being the case, a leader must consider it his responsibility to launch criticism against them and display a daring spirit to expose such contradictions and resolve them carefully and properly. In this connection, we must prevent the development of another extreme trend. Under its influence, some people are afraid to denounce those who refuse to thoroughly implement the "double-hundred policy" for "wielding the big stick" and for "meddlesome actions"; they have become so cautious, timid, and chickenhearted that they have failed to speak out and to stand firm on matters of what they believe right. This attitude contrasts starkly with another attitude adopted by others who are unwilling to accept correct opinions and who often accuse their critics of being arrogant. These two attitudes are entirely wrong and will have a detrimental effect on the cause of the party and the people. Today, there are people

who have scored some success in work but have made some mistakes. When their success is praised to the point that they seemingly do not deserve [such praise], they never think that it is overdone. But if their leadership criticizes their shortcomings and mistakes, they accuse it of "wielding the big stick again through another political movement against the rightists." This is indeed a misunderstanding. A long-tested truth verified by practice tells us that without criticism, no progress can be made. We must overcome unhealthy trends affecting our party and society and advance our socialist cause. To this end, we cannot give up criticism as a weapon, and we must frequently mount criticism and self-criticism. Like the fresh air and sunlight, criticism and self-criticism are indispensable to our life. We must do so despite the fact that criticism and self-criticism were once misused by Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng to "attain their own aims." In the course of criticism and self-criticism, they deliberately exaggerated the mistakes of others to the maximum, so as to serve their counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Their attempts to wield the big stick through their punitive "mass criticism" should be viewed as another matter and as an action to distort and trample underfoot our party's excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism. Undoubtedly, we must make efforts to bring order out of this mess. However, we should warn that no one can use this as a pretext to reject criticism of his mistakes and deny his shortcomings. If this is permitted, it will harm not only himself but others as well. Any party organization and any comrades will fail in their duty to cure our social ills if they fail to display a daring spirit to criticize those erring comrades. Acting this way is not a demonstration of true love for these comrades but an irresponsible and laissez-faire attitude toward the people's cause. Such an attitude is unworthy of emulation by anyone.

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PARTY AND STATE

USE DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM TO GUIDE WORK STUDIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Wang Shu [3769 2880], Secretary of the CCP Committee of Haixi Zang Nationality Autonomous Zhou: "Persist in Using Dialectical Materialism To Guide Work"; originally published in the 12 August issue of QINGHAI RIBAO]

[Text] Recently we have had the happy occasion to study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," which shines with the light of dialectical materialism and historical materialism throughout.

The "Resolution" points out: Comrade Mao Zedong applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism in the entire work of the proletarian party and thereby shaped the stand, viewpoint, and methods marked by the special characteristics of the Chinese Communists during the long hard struggle of the Chinese revolution. Seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in everything, and uniting theory with actual fact are the specific reflections of this Marxist stand, viewpoint and methods; they are also the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong took this point as the necessary scientific attitude to be followed by our party in its style of work, style of study, and style of ordinary pursuit, and also by us as communists in our work and activities. Looking back at the events of the past as we study the "Resolution," our experiences have indeed been rich and our lessons very profound, as regards our adherence to, or our violation of, the ideological principles of dialectical materialism. We have both abundant experience with success in our persisting in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality, and operating according to objective laws, and also profound lessons in violating objective laws and hence disturbing and messing things up, running things badly, irrespective of our good motives.

Dialectical materialism tells us: In order for our policies to tally with the ideological principles of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality in everything, we must carry out concrete analyses of specific things. But we can see from the numerous facts concerning our rectification and correction of unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation in the past few years that, under the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology in the past, whether within the party or among the masses of the people, one of the lessons in the treatment of people is that there were frequent violations of objective reality and a lack of concrete analysis of specific persons and things, a confusion of the two kinds of contradictions of different nature, and an effort to raise matters to the question of

principles without any limitation and to carry out excessive struggles by taking numerous different complex and complicated situations reflected in the contradictions among the peoples as though they were all manifestations of class struggle, without seriously and strictly making a distinction as to whether questions of a political nature, questions of an ideological nature, questions pertaining to habitual forces, or questions of prior or subsequent perception were involved; the result was that simple political conclusions were habitually made. In the handling of these contradictions, simple methods such as "cutting everything the same way," "all jumping upon the same victims," "rushing headlong into mass action," and "throwing everything into the common pot" prevailed; the result was that unity within the party and between the party and the masses were seriously affected, and the party's fighting stamina was weakened. It is of significance to our adherence to the party's ideological line on seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality in everything to correctly sum up and absorb this historical lesson.

In the past few years, we have profoundly recognized in the implementation of the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee that, along with the shift of the focus of work of the whole party and the whole country, the main energy of leading organs at various levels has become increasingly concentrated on the construction of socialist modernization. In the face of such a new historical period, there are bound to be numerous new situations, new problems, and new things surging forth before us, and people's perceptions at the time when new things first appear are often inconsistent with one another, so that [different] opinions often abound. This makes it necessary for us to penetrate realities in order to solve problems through investigation and study and repeated practice. For instance, from the latter half of last year to early this year, the perceptions among those of our leading group of the party committee of our autonomous zhou as to the form of production responsibility system for agricultural and pastoral enterprises proved precisely to be not entirely consistent. In the face of such a situation, we refrained from adopting any simple, centralized method to achieve forcible consistency but followed the principles of emancipating our thinking and seeking truth from facts, as put forward by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and, on the basis of penetratingly studying the spirit of the Central Work Conference of December 1980 and carefully sorting out the influence of left deviationist ideology, thereby organized members of the standing committee of the party committee of the autonomous zhou to go to various counties, communes, and factory, and mining entrepreneurial units to carry our investigation and study respectively and listen to the opinions and appeals of basic-level cadres and the masses in general. After a month and a half of actual investigation, ideas and perceptions were ultimately unified and a production responsibility system was adopted for agricultural and pastoral enterprises befitting the situation in the autonomous zhou, responding to popular expectations, stressing practical results, stabilizing the developing measures of industrial readjustment, and facilitating the mobilization of the enthusiasm of the masses. This matter has enlightened and educated us to the fact that, in the face of new situations, new problems, and new things, there must be a process of practice, perception, practice, practice again, perception again in order that our subjectivity will correspond to objective reality. In such a process, it is entirely in accord with the laws of perception if some differences or repetitions should appear in people's perceptions; this is a normal phenomenon, especially if people develop certain different views in the beginning when a problem is being explored. Testing whether a perception is correct and whether it corresponds to objective reality can ultimately be solved only through practice. This fundamental epistemological principle of dialectical materialism should become a basic principle in guiding us to carry out all work and unify our ideological perception and action.

PARTY AND STATE

AGRARIAN SOCIALISM, OTHER THEORETICAL TRENDS OF 1956-1976 PERIOD CRITICIZED

Nanjing NANJING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE) [NANJING UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES)] in Chinese No 4, 11 Nov 80 pp 98-104

[Article by Ying Xueli [2019 1331 3680] and Sun Hui [1327 8748]: "Some Theoretical Questions Regarding the Later Period of the Socialist Transformation in Our Country"]

[Excerpts] In the later stage of the socialist transformation, our party carried on a movement opposing "right-wing socialism." It appears that the ideology guiding this movement was that of agrarian socialism, which is in opposition to scientific socialism. Experience has already shown that the ideology of agrarian socialism seriously hindered the development of the socialist cause in our country and is completely incapable of bringing China onto the path of flourishing, strong socialism. A summarization of the experience of several decades shows us that it is impossible to accelerate our country's economic and political reform without thoroughly eliminating the ideology of agrarian socialism.

In order to eliminate this ideology under our country's conditions, we must clarify several theoretical questions.

1. The Dual Nature of the Peasant Class

This is predominantly a country of peasants, and it was through the peasants that our party came to power. During the democratic revolution, when such people as Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming held the peasant forces in low regard, the revolution was led toward failure; but the correct line, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, relied on the peasants, armed them and liberated them, with the result that the Chinese revolution was victorious. Who can deny the peasants' role in the democratic revolution?

However, the reason that the peasants participated actively in the democratic revolution led by the proletariat was not that the class awareness of this country's peasants was exceptionally high, but rather that in this revolution the proletariat and the broad mass of peasants had common revolutionary objectives and common interests. In the revolutionary process our party devotes especial attention to the vital interests of the peasant class. The target of the democratic revolution was the "three mountains" which weighed upon the people, and especially upon the peasants, while for the peasants the essence of the revolution was the land question and the revolution consisted of the implementation of "equal distribution of land," the ideal for which the peasants had been struggling for thousands of years.

We may put it this way: The peasants brought to the democratic revolution an agrarian socialist ideology whose primary feature was egalitarianism, and our party's line for the democratic revolution was in essential agreement with this ideology in its main objectives; as a result, the peasants participated vigorously in the revolution, made the Communist Party, which led them in their demands for liberation and a new life, their savior, and fought as the party directed. The broad masses of peasants understood from their own personal experience that only by constantly obeying the party and unswervingly following it could they become liberated, achieve a new life and become prosperous. Accordingly, after the democratic revolution, when our party called on them to "organize and take the road to common prosperity," the peasantry, and particularly its poorest strata, naturally arose in a body to do its bidding.

The crux of the problem is this: Was this unanimous activism purely socialist awareness, or did it also include some innate spontaneity on the part of the peasants?

Lenin pointed out that the peasantry is a class with a dual nature. As private owners, the peasants spontaneously produce capital, while as workers, they are inclined to socialism; but while inclined to socialism, they are not innately socialist. This is not to belittle the peasants' consciousness: it results from the fact that the peasantry is a class which has been nurtured by thousands of years of the patriarchal system. In his book "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx scientifically analyzed the characteristics of this class on the basis of its mode of production. The limited scale of production, the hindrances to circulation, and its cultural backwardness limited its horizons so that it opposed superstition to science and opposed autocracy or absolutism to the socialism nurtured by the scientific spirit. With the exception of a very small minority of rich peasants who hoped to ascend to the mansions of capitalism, the vast majority of this class were opposed in their subjective wishes to capitalist exploitation, but did not oppose capitalism in terms of scientific socialism, opposing it instead out of their psychology of fear of capitalism and out of their real and imminent danger of bankruptcy. Accordingly the peasants world view determined that their struggle against capitalism would be dual in nature: first, the poorer peasants opposed capitalism and for this reason could follow the party on the path to socialism; second, the peasants themselves did not trust socialism, but were born agrarian socialists, and what they wished to establish was an absolutely equalitarian ideal kingdom maintained by the absolute power of an enlightened ruler rather than socialism based on scientific socialist principles. As a result, the activism which they manifested was inevitably fanatical and utopian and contained a great deal of destructiveness. Particularly in the high tide of revolution, the question of whether or not one admitted that the activism of the peasant revolution had an innate spontaneity and that this spontaneity led to blind action was the key to whether one admitted the dual nature of the peasantry. As a clear-eyed proletarian revolutionary thinker, Lenin's achievement consisted not only in correctly analyzing the duality of the peasantry in general terms, but also in carrying this duality out to its conclusions and pointing out that "because it constantly suffered oppression under the capitalist system and its experience was generally of sudden declines in its conditions of life or even bankruptcy, it easily turned to extreme revolutionarism." This "extreme revolutionarism" is an expression of the peasantry's spontaneity during the high tide of revolution, and although it is different from open espousal of the capitalist road, it is emphatically not a scientific socialist awareness.

For a long period we had difficulty with the question of how to understand the dual nature of the peasantry. Starting with the later period of the socialist transformation, we always considered the individual economy to be capitalism, while at the same time we made the question of whether or not one sought to "transform" its production relationships the basis for distinguishing capitalist ideology from socialist awareness; we believed that provided someone advocated revolution, regardless of whether conditions were ripe for it and whether it was to proceed on the basis of scientific socialist principles, he was a socialist activist, while anyone who did otherwise was a rightist conservative element. This analysis of the duality of the peasantry, when applied to its different strata, held that spontaneity existed only among the rich peasants, while the poor peasants had only revolutionary activism. When, on the supposition that "great revolutionary activism is latent among the peasants, and the activism is greatest among the most aware elements," group after group of cadres, intellectuals and city dwellers were sent to the countryside to "receive reeducation from the poor and lower middle peasants," this amounted to an assertion that the peasants had spontaneous socialist consciousness and that this consciousness was even greater than that of the vanguard of the proletariat. Because of this worship of the spontaneity of the peasant classes, some comrades equated the poor peasants in the countryside with the modern proletariat, and believed that a proletariat and semiproletariat existed in the countryside. This was at variance with Marxism's scientific analysis of the peasantry. To be sure, in terms of their station in life the poor peasants and farm laborers were the propertyless and semipropertyless people in the countryside--Lenin too described them in this way. But Lenin's use of this turn of phrase was similar to Marx's and Engels' description of the slave class in ancient society as the proletariat of antiquity: it referred only to their condition of life and was by no means an attempt to equate them with the modern proletariat, the material bearers of modern large-scale production. On the basis of the historical materialist principle that there is such a thing as determinate consciousness and that states of consciousness are independent of each other, the classical Marxist writers not only distinguished the propertyless who were connected to different economic structures or means of production and treated only the modern proletariat, the working class engaged in large-scale socialized production, the exemplification of this concept, but in addition they believed that if the modern proletariat could not spontaneously produce scientific socialist thought, scientific socialist thought could only be instilled from without. Lenin believed that if the proletariat engaged in large-scale socialized production were able after a long period to escape from the material means of production, it would escape from the orbit of the working class and would tend toward destructive lumpen-proletarian activity. Thus the idea that there is a modern proletariat with a high level of socialist consciousness in the countryside is at odds with reality.

2. The Relationship Between Utilizing and Transforming Private Capitalist Industry and Commerce and Transforming Individual Peasants

On the eve of the large-scale implementation of socialist transformation, there were five economic elements in our country, which can be grouped in three large categories: the socialist state-run economy, the private capitalist commercial and industrial economy, and the small-producer economy of the individual peasants and individual artisans. In essence, small-scale production is the economic basis on which feudalism relied.

These various economic structures are largely in agreement with the economic state of affairs in Russia which Lenin analyzed after the October revolution. The three main economic components not only indicated that there were three levels of productive forces in this country's society, but also determined that there would be three roads in this country: socialism, capitalism and semifeudalism. To establish true developed socialism, it was naturally necessary to rely on and develop the socialist economy, and reform or thoroughly eliminate all nonsocialist economic elements, or, as Comrade Mao Zedong hoped, "to wipe out imperialism, feudalism, capitalism and small-scale production."

However, this does not at all mean that we adopt a policy of blindly eliminating the nonsocialist economies. As a Marxist, Lenin made a comprehensive analysis of the relationships of several nonsocialist economic components, concluding that since the capitalist production relationships were maintained by exploiting the workers' surplus labor, they were unquestionably cruel and backward, but that for 100 or 200 years capitalism had been progressive by virtue of the productive forces which it created. Is this not so? It was precisely the highly developed productive forces of capitalism which broke through the various limitations of small-scale production and smashed the restrictions of the patriarchal clans, brought the world together as a single unit, not only greatly enriching people's social relationships but also expanding their horizons; it was also the highly developed productive forces of capitalism which taught scientific and cultural accomplishments to the working classes and enabled them to increasingly escape from their ignorant and backward condition and become an educated class. Without these conditions, not only could socialism not have been established, but even feudalism could not have been completely buried. Accordingly, believing along with Engles that to implement socialism, "We need not only the proletariat capable of effecting this change, but also the bourgeoisie which has developed the productive forces to the point where they are capable of thoroughly eliminating classes," Lenin drew the following conclusion with respect to the specific conditions in our country, which was suffering because of the underdevelopment of capitalism here: "Compared with socialism, capitalism is harmful, but compared with the medieval system, small-scale production, and the bureaucracy associated with the indiscipline of the small-scale producers, capitalism is a blessing. Since we cannot bring about the transition from small-scale production to socialism, and since capitalism, the spontaneous product of small-scale production and exchange, is to some degree inevitable, we should use capitalism (particularly by drawing it into the orbit of state capitalism) as the link between small-scale production and socialism, and as a measure, path, method and form of upgrading the productive forces." As for state capitalism, Lenin explains that it is an economic alliance which the proletarian state contracts with the capitalists and a necessary measure "to strengthen large-scale production against small-scale production and to strengthen advanced production against backward production."

Making an economic alliance with the capitalists to oppose small-scale production is an important strategic concept of Lenin's. In the overall course of history, self-sufficient small-scale production is destroyed by the thorough development of capitalism. But after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, the small-scale producers still surrounded the newly-victorious Soviet power like an immense sea and could not then be destroyed. This class, which could not be driven out, was continuously corrupting the militant working class and was a constant rival of Soviet power; after the end of the imperialist military intervention and the various revolts of the nobility, the hidden forces of small-scale production began

to run wild, directly threatening the existence of Soviet power and bureaucratizing Soviet power from within. Many Communist Party members failed to see this great threat. Lenin pointedly criticized this apathetic behavior. He frequently stated the necessity of realizing that the small producers were the main enemy. Of course, the term "enemy" was not used in a political sense, but in an economic sense. In order to consolidate the newly created Soviet power, it was necessary to wage a protracted, arduous struggle against the small-scale producers, and in order to wage an effective struggle against them at a time when the socialist economy was extremely weak, it was necessary to accept the help of the law-abiding capitalist economic elements. This was the important strategic concept which Lenin proposed for economically backward Russia.

Unfortunately, we did not accord the proper importance to or understand this idea of Lenin's. We confused these two types of alliance, the economic alliance and the political alliance, and thus were unable to understand Lenin's brilliant idea of using the assistance of progressive large-scale capitalist production against backward small-scale production. True, we too talked about two alliances, "one with the peasants and the other with the national bourgeoisie." But during the socialist transformation, our alliance with the national bourgeoisie was an alliance in name only, not in reality. Back in June 1952, we laid down the guiding idea that "after the landlord class and bureaucratic capitalists are overthrown, the main contradiction within China will be that between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, and accordingly we should no longer call the national bourgeoisie one of the central classes," with the result that at the very time we were talking about an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, we were bringing up the question of allying with the peasants on a socialist basis to destroy capitalism. Since we had already made the bourgeoisie our revolutionary target, how could we enter an alliance with the capitalists, especially when we had to deal with the problem on a socialist basis? This metaphysical view, which fails to distinguish politics from economics and advanced production from backward production, and this premature call for a revolution to "wipe out capitalism," did grave damage to our economic and political work.

First, we actually eliminated the state capitalism stage, and this led to the gradual bureaucratization of industrial and commercial management. It is incorrect to say that we had no idea of carrying out state capitalism. But when we were carrying out the property reform on a large scale, we did not distinguish ownership of the means of production from the right of enterprise management. We took away the capitalists' ownership rights and management rights at one stroke. But socialism is not an abstract form; it has a living content. Since socialism is an economic form one step above capitalism, it naturally should have a more scientific and rigorous organizational structure than capitalism and should use more scientific measures to manage the economy, but after we proclaimed that the capitalists must step aside, we rejected all of their experience and management science as rubbish. This led to many strange circumstances: in organizations of an obvious production or commercial character, large number of nonproduction political cadres would be placed above technical and management personnel, with the result that the organizations became bloated and overstaffed, and many persons were paid for nothing; units that were obviously economic in nature were able to ignore economic results; and people who clearly were the leadership of an enterprise could not be hired or fired by the workers but were directly named by the higher levels and had no responsibility to the enterprise, but only to the higher levels. Condensing all of these circumstances into a single point, it was really a use of the methods of

the feudalistic government-run enterprise to reform the capitalist economy. This situation developed solely because we did not understand that socialism has highly developed capitalist production as its prerequisite and is formed by eliminating capitalist management and administrative experience.

Second, we ignorantly opposed science and wasted talent. Because the small-producer world view is in essence opposed to science, it considers science, culture and intellectuals to be as great a scourge as the bourgeoisie. On the one hand we shouted slogans about learning from all experts, while on the other hand we treated large numbers of intellectuals who had been employed by the capitalists or the state in the old society, such as teachers, physicians, scientific and cultural workers and the like, as servants of the bourgeoisie and labeled them bourgeois intellectuals, subjecting them to various kinds of discrimination, or even forcing them down to the lowest strata of society. Whether as a result of the idea that only much-wronged poor peasants could be the heads of rural production teams or because of the theory that nothing counts but class status in the higher-level state organizations, all people who brought knowledge from the old society were unable to obtain important positions or even were excluded from the ranks of the cadres; and a certain number of persons without knowledge, influenced by the ideological tide that nonexperts naturally should give orders to experts, were unwilling to learn and did not strive to make progress, with the result that our cadres' ranks gradually became bureaucratized and took on an antiintellectual character. This has become not only an economic problem but a problem which affects all aspects of our national life.

Our original idea regarding the question of how to implement socialist reform was correct. On the basis of Lenin's teachings and the practice of the Soviet Union's socialist revolution, we proposed the general line of "one transformation and three reforms," and while making a major, effective effort in socialist construction, the party gradually developed the mutual assistance teams into basic-level communes in the countryside on an experimental basis, a movement which was essentially healthy. But not long after, we made an abrupt ideological change of course. In October 1953, two months after we had formally fixed the content of the General Line, we changed the way it was formulated: "The General Line can be said to be a solution of the problem of the ownership system. Only by expanding state ownership through new construction, reconstruction or expansion of state-run enterprises and by converting the two types of private ownership systems, namely ownership by the workers and ownership by the bourgeoisie, to collective ownership and state management (by joint public-private management and unification under socialism), can we upgrade the productive forces and industrialize the country." If we do not read this formulation carefully, it seems to be in accord with the "one transformation and three reforms," but in reality it stood the sequence of industrialization and alteration of the ownership system on its head, eliminated the decisive role in remaking society played by the upgrading of the productive forces, and in fact turned historical materialism into historical idealism. It contained basic faults of ideology, as a consequence of which minor theoretical deviations would unavoidably result in major failures in practice.

To ignore the level of development of the productive forces in carrying out large-scale alteration of the production relations is to depart from historical materialism. Leadership based on this approach will inevitably come to grief. The tragic thing is that nobody made an objective, scientific summarization of the practical

problems which resulted from our being guided by this erroneous ideology. Instead it was always thought that capitalist-roaders among the masses and cadres were making trouble, and that the situation was one of class struggle or struggle between two lines. In order to protect the fruits of victory and advance to new victories, it was thought necessary to carry on a class struggle: one day we would claim that there were serious spontaneous capitalist leanings among the rich peasants and that political work would have to be intensified throughout the cooperativization movement, because the least slackness would supposedly allow capitalism to spread unchecked, and in the next day we would be criticizing the cadres on the grounds that some of them came from landlord, rich peasant or well-off middle peasant families and had already espoused the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, the rich peasants or the prosperous middle peasants with spontaneous capitalist leanings and supported the interests of a relative minority. Accordingly, it was inevitable felt necessary to carry on artificial "class struggles" in order to intensify and advance the change of production relations.

In reality the use of "class struggle" to remake the small peasants was inevitable for those who believed in the theory that the superstructure is decisive. In March 1955, in discussing several problems of Marxism at the party congress, we actually equated Marxian socialism with the theory of class struggle; this deceptive formulation was unquestionably incompatible with scientific socialism. As stated in the Lenin quotation [not reproduced] which we cited at the beginning of this section, socialism of course destroys classes, but the destruction of classes does not mean blindly carrying on large-scale class struggle. Engels, one of the founders of scientific socialism, pointed out: "The change which socialism is currently striving to bring about is, in simple terms, a victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of a new social organization through destruction of all classes differences." But in addition, "Only after the social productive forces have developed to a certain stage, to a stage which is quite advanced even compared to our present condition, will it be possible to raise production to this level and make true progress in abolishing class distinctions, to make their abolition solid and lasting, and to avoid bringing about stagnation or even decline in the form of social production." This statement by Engels is extremely profound; but it was neither understood by contemporary Russian exiles, nor accepted by those among us with the small-producer outlook. When we used the method of "large-scale mass debate," we carried out cooperativization in a very short time, and when we then carried out the "socialist revolution in the ideological and political line," we set up the people's communes everywhere based on cooperativization. When they were initially being set up their characteristics were as follows. First, they were large, generally using one, two or three districts as a unit, and encompassing thousands or even tens of thousands of households in a unit--almost equivalent to small duchies. Second, they were publically owned: naturally the main fields were, but all the private plots, house property, family sideline industries and the like were also publically owned, and on the basis of this large-scale public ownership, food, clothing, housing, medical care, and even burials and weddings were provided for: and everyone ate from the big communist pot. Third, there was large-scale unification, and workers, soldiers, peasants, students, merchants, the party and the government were all integrated into a single unit: the government ran the enterprises, the party ran the government, the party and government were indivisible, and they were assisted by the army. The commune members not only had to eat at the communal mess halls, but also had to take military training and lived a militarized life.

People often say that by 1956 our socialist transformation was basically victorious. But if we consider the situation conscientiously, our socialist transformation could only be considered to be victorious after the people of both city and countryside were communalized, an organizational form in which there was a communist factor had been found, and the seven functions (worker, peasant, soldier, student, merchant, party and government) were unified. "Communism is paradise and the people's communes are the bridge to it." If we had not succeeded in finding the bridge to paradise, how could the transformation be "basically victorious"? However, when we analyze the economic content of this bridge which had just been built, it is not difficult to see that the economic form was entirely incompatible with scientific socialism. Socialism requires strict record-keeping and oversight of each individual's work for the purpose of implementing the principle of distribution according to labor; but many localities lacked any adequate accounting, no one had any choice but to "eat out of the big pot of communism," what was originally a scientific principle was subjected to theoretical criticism as a piece of revisionism, and people were called upon to treasure egalitarian rubbish. Socialism requires the most extensive possible democracy so that the masses can directly run their enterprises and the "state," but in reality the cultural level of the broad masses is low and they are unable to exercise their democratic rights, so that their only recourse is to have a minority run things; as their property increases and the leaders become more powerful, there is a danger of eventually nurturing large and small bureaucrats or even "local emperors." Socialism requires that we gradually convert society into an economic unity, but the political organization which we set up by means of administrative measures inevitably relies on the power of the government for its existence, and accordingly we were actually increasingly politicizing and militarizing the enterprises. These few points are sufficient to indicate the nature of the socialist society which we would have established. Of course, the opposition of some old comrades in the party, and particularly the fact that the communal dining halls very rapidly ate up the communal property, forced people to return to reality; but they did so unwillingly, and as soon as the situation improved a "revolution" would be inevitably set in motion.

4. A Clear Line of Demarcation Must be Drawn Between Us and the Small-Producer World View, and the Specters of Agricultural Socialism Must Be Exorcised

A single, complete ideological thread runs through the progression from worship of the spontaneity of small-scale production to overthrowing the "one transformation and three reforms," from rejecting advanced capitalist productive forces to a resort to "class struggle" and changing the production relations without regard for the level of the productive forces; it is completely at odds with historical materialism, starting out from narrow empiricism and slipping toward historical idealism.

But was it only when we arrived at the later stage of the socialist transformation that we became imbued with narrow empiricism and historical idealism? Quite the contrary.

As everyone knows, our socialist revolution was based on the democratic revolution. People often say that the democratic revolution was bourgeois in character, but this only means that the revolution had to destroy the power of feudalism, bureaucratism and imperialism in China. Because the natural economy which lasted for more than 2,000 years in old China was still in control and the people who were oppressed in the lowest stratum of society were the poor peasants who numbered more than

80 percent of the nation's population, this sort of revolution could not be anything but a modern peasant war led by the Communist Party. And for this reason, in the process of nationalizing Marxism, we often pinned a narrow pragmatist or historical idealist tail on Marxist theory. Therefore it is not particularly difficult to find the source of the theoretical errors which we made in the late period of socialist transformation.

A. The Narrow Empiricist Tendency

Our party, and especially Comrade Mao Zedong, opposed narrow empiricism. But it should be pointed out that at the very time when we are opposing narrow empiricism, we are also covertly promoting it. For example, when discussing the way in which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin made their contributions, do we conclude that other than their genius, the main thing was their practice, and that all scientific and cultural knowledge left by their predecessors had no effect in the formation and development of their thought? Again, the dialectical materialist idea of "the leap from perceptual to rational knowledge," which we have accepted as gospel, makes no mention of the effects of scientific knowledge and scientific logic accumulated over many centuries; but is it possible to ascend in this way to correct rational knowledge? So too in the case of our summarization of the laws of development of consciousness as "practice, understanding, further practice, further understanding" and so on: if we reject the results of our predecessors' investigations and struggle up our own ascending spiral of practice, understanding, further practice, further understanding, will we be able to arrive at scientific conclusions about complex social, natural and thought phenomena? These examples make it clear that we have not escaped from the circle of epistemology based on narrow individual experience.

B. The Historical Idealist Tendency

Of course, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong opposed historical idealism, but unquestionably at the very time that we were opposing historical idealism, we were also making historical idealist errors. Our superstitious belief in class struggle and exaggeration of the reactive effect of the superstructure were among our party's key theories during the later period of the socialist transformation; the bases of these theories had been developed somewhat earlier, but it was only later that it became possible to perfect and develop them. For example, the idea that under certain conditions production relations and the superstructure play a decisive role and the practice of defining historical materialism and historical idealism only in terms of class struggle, which we accepted as orthodoxy, are in fact at odds with Marxist historical materialism.

It should be pointed out that historical materialism combined with narrow empiricism constitutes the small-producer world view represented by the peasants. This world view is generally satisfied with limited perceptions and achievements, holds science in low regard and is opposed to democracy, and accordingly it is in essence opposed to Marxism. It is grounds for rejoicing that this small-producer world view did not become the main current during the democratic revolutionary stage and that under the guidance of Marxism our democratic revolution won a great victory. However, it was the great victory won in this revolution that made us arrogant and even rendered us incapable of discovering the problems which would unavoidably arise during the pressures and alarms of the struggle. The volume of "Selected Works of

Zedong" which we published in August 1951 was conscientiously compiled by Comrade Mao Zedong and the Selected Works of Mao Zedong Publishing Committee. The views described above did not reflect the views of a certain leader in 1937, but instead reflected the joint views of our party after the state was founded. Accordingly, the theoretical errors which burst forth in the later period of socialist transformation were entirely natural. Accordingly, either our China would inevitably undergo a struggle waged by the ideology of agrarian socialism against the theory of scientific socialism, or, ruled by the theory of agrarian socialism in the form of a small-peasant utopian illusion, would follow Liu Bang, Zhu Yuanchang and Hong Xiuquan down the road to feudalism, or, under the guidance of scientific socialism, would eliminate the effect of small-producer concepts and continue to progress in the direction pointed out by Marx and Lenin. In the 20 year period between the Eighth Party Congress in 1956 and the sway of the "gang of four" in 1976, the struggle between these two socialisms was actually waged on Chinese soil. Although at the point when the democratic revolution changed into the socialist revolution, the great sea of small producers inevitably brought forth in our party an anti-science, anti-democracy, anti-progress faction which styled itself Marxist, was centered on agrarian socialism, and had feudalism as its destination, modern China's large industry inevitably will be able to forge revolutionary fighters capable of waging an extremely arduous struggle against this faction, and through prolonged Marxist education and investigation of the objective situation they will inevitably be able to use scientific socialism to overcome agrarian socialism.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION MINISTRY ADOPTS NEW SYSTEMS ON TRIAL BASIS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] The Ministry of Education recently made public the "Draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 6-year education system for key middle schools and "Revised views on the draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 5-year middle school education system." It also sent out a circular and an explanation.

In 1978 the Ministry of Education issued "A draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 10-year primary and middle school education system." The 3-year trial period indicates that while the draft proposal has helped to restore the normal educational order in the schools and to upgrade the quality of education, certain problems remained to be solved. The chief problem is that the overly heavy workload in the middle schools has had a deleterious effect on the physical and mental development of the students. One of the reasons is that the 5-year educational system is too short. In order to implement the policy for the overall moral, intellectual and physical development of the students and to upgrade the quality of education as well as to reduce the students' workload, the Ministry of Education has decided that the middle school system should gradually be extended from 5 to 6 years. The various localities should, on the basis of their actual circumstances, introduce changes in the system step by step and locality by locality according to a set plan and procedure.

One of the reasons which led the Ministry of Education to adopt the two educational programs is the need to reform the middle school education system. These two educational programs are meant to serve as guidelines, and suitable modifications may be made by the localities to suit their actual conditions. The two newly promulgated educational programs are best suited to key middle schools and middle schools that are operating under relatively favorable conditions. As for ordinary middle schools, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may formulate their own educational programs.

As guidelines in theory and in practice, the "Draft proposal for the trial adoption of the all-day 6-year educational system for key middle schools" stresses the following points:

1. Aside from ensuring the intellectual development of the students, the middle schools should make greater effort to upgrade their moral, ideological and physical education as well as their health and physical well-being. While it is necessary to upgrade their education qualitatively, it is also necessary to avoid and to overcome the tendency to subject them to too heavy a workload. The number of classes per week and the amount of homework must be within reasonable limits. There should be only two examinations each semester, mid-term and final. The amount of work covered by each examination should not be too great so that the students may have sufficient time to study on their own and to engage in extra-curricular activities and that they may have sufficient sleep and rest.

2. A sound foundation should be laid, especially in writing, mathematics and foreign languages. Emphasis should be placed on the need to enable the students to master basic knowledge and basic skills. Efforts should be made to develop their learning ability and their intellectual capacity. Attention should be paid to the need to improve teaching methods, to stress the importance of experiments, and to take positive steps to increase various types of worthwhile extra-curricular activities.

3. In order to satisfy the interests and to meet the needs of the students so as to enable them to develop their special talents, elective courses should be made available to second and third year students in senior middle schools. First is the single-curriculum elective [system], in which they have the option of one, two, or no electives. Second is the split-curriculum elective [system] in which, once the basic middle school course work is completed, they may choose electives predominantly in either sciences or the arts. The students may elect to take a particular course in accordance with their special interests and aptitudes. The choice of one of the two types of elective courses may be left to the discretion of the different localities. There should be a period of preparation before this system is put into practice. Overall experience should be taken into account, and the system should be established step by step. The various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may adopt the system of major elective courses in the key middle schools on a trial basis.

4. Courses in labor techniques should be offered by middle schools to promote labor technique education. The main purpose is to help the students to develop a correct attitude concerning labor and to get them accustomed to engaging in physical labor so that they may acquire certain labor skills and be able to work with their hands as well as with their heads. Labor technique education covers industrial and agricultural production, education in basic techniques and vocational techniques in service-related labor and in public service. Junior middle schools are to have two weeks and senior middle schools are to have four weeks per school year of labor technique education. The two-week and four-week periods may be broken up, or they may run uninterrupted. The various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may designate several schools for conducting in a serious manner experiments in labor technique education on the basis of their experience in their earnest attempts to develop productive labor education.

It is learned that, in order to implement the two educational programs, the parties concerned are in the process of compiling and revising teaching materials. The educational authorities in various localities are seriously studying ways and means to implement the educational programs best suited to the actual local conditions and are making the necessary preparations to acquire qualified teaching staffs and the needed equipment.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHANGES IN TESTING COLLEGE APPLICANTS BRING BETTER RESULTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] It is learned from the concerned authorities that, on the basis of experiences gained during the past few years, the setting of examination questions for institutions of higher learning has shown further improvement this year. The better examination results this year over the last will ensure that a high standard of admission will be achieved and that both teachers and students will be better served.

The Ministry of Education recently invited some of the teachers of the Second Middle School, the Fifth Middle School, the Nineteenth Middle School, the Experimental Middle School and the Eighty-first Middle School in Beijing to participate in a discussion, to engage in an exchange of views with some of the teachers in Beijing responsible for grading examination papers, and to hear their views on the examination questions for senior schools this year. They agreed that the questions, within the confines of the syllabus and on the basis of the teaching materials which had been compiled, should emphasize the testing of basic knowledge and basic skills and on the ability of the students to apply them. The examination questions, neither too difficult nor too easy, were found to have basically met the twin goals of enabling institutions of higher learning to select outstanding talent and to facilitate teaching in the middle schools. They expressed the view that this system will serve to liberate both teachers and students from "the tactics of tackling a plethora of questions" and from a multiplicity of review materials, to enable the students to acquire basic knowledge and basic skills, to upgrade the quality and quantity of middle school education, and to ensure a more solid foundation for the students newly admitted to the universities.

The number of students who signed up for the standardized examination throughout the nation came to 2,589,000. The work of grading the papers has now been completed. An analysis of the statistical material concerning the examination results compiled by the admissions office in Beijing reveals that the grades achieved this year are higher than those of last year, that there is a significant improvement in the grades in all the subjects examined, and that the universities have found it easier to select the best qualified new students.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION IN SHANDONG PROVINCE MAKES GREAT PROGRESS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] Since the founding of the People's Republic 32 years ago, Shandong Province has made great strides in the development of higher education. Whereas there were only 7 institutions of higher learning in the province in 1952, there are now 38. While there were 6,753 students enrolled in such institutions in 1952, there are now some 51,400, or 7.6 times the 1952 figure. While there were only 1.39 college students out of every 10,000 people in the population in 1952, there are now 7.2. There are also 527 research students, the largest number ever registered. The number of rank and file teachers in institutions of higher learning has also shown a big increase. Whereas there were 1,024 such teachers in 1952, there are now 10,924, or 10.7 times the 1952 figures. Among them are 966 professors and associate professors and 4,778 lecturers. In the past 32 years, these institutions have produced 104,330 graduates for the nation.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the institutions of higher learning have done well in eradicating "leftist" influences, in rectifying school discipline, in strengthening the development of teachers, in upgrading the quality and quantity of teaching, in intensifying their political and ideology work among the students, and in promoting physical culture and public health. They have also achieved creditable results in technical and scientific research, in research in the applied sciences and in basic scientific research. In 1980 alone, out of 29 scientific research projects which had been appraised, 21 were found to have reached the advanced domestic level, while 5 others were considered to have reached the advanced international level.

Activities involving the exchange of academic learning also reached an unprecedented level. In 1980, some 330 articles written by teachers in institutions of higher learning in the province were published in national and international publications and were given favorable reviews by both Chinese and foreign experts.

The achievements in scientific research made by institutions of higher learning in the province in recent years were made possible by the strengthening of party leadership and the effective implementation of the policy toward intellectuals. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, over 340 among

the highly qualified intellectuals and intermediate intellectuals have been selected to fill the two levels of leadership positions in schools and colleges and in the faculties and departments. Over 380 teachers were admitted to the Communist Party. More than 960 teachers were appointed professors and associate professors, while over 4,170 were promoted to lecturers. In addition, one-third of the teachers were given better living conditions. This has had the effect of greatly activating the positive attitude of large numbers of cadres and teachers.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING TO ENFORCE TENURE SYSTEM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] The State Council recently appointed Professor Huang Wenhui [7806 2429 5706], Professor Li Jiabao [2621 1367 1405], Associate Professor Jiang Yihong [1203 0110 1347] and Lecturer Jing Bowen [7231 0130 2427] vice presidents of the Harbin Institute of Technology in a move to enforce the 4-year tenureship system.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic, the administrative cadres in leadership positions in institutions of higher learning have, in actual practice, held on to their jobs for life. The adoption of the tenure system in the appointment of Huang Wenhui and company as vice presidents marks the beginning of the tenureship system in our institutions of higher learning and represents the first step in the abolition of the system of virtually lifelong appointment of cadres in leadership positions in our institutions of higher learning.

It is learned that the fixed tenureship system will henceforth be enforced in the appointment of professional personnel as presidents and vice presidents of institutions of higher learning. The length of tenure is to be the same as the length of the school term. As a rule, appointees will not be reappointed for a second term. This is in keeping with the policy of the CCP Central Committee to abolish the system of lifelong tenure for those in leadership positions. It will prevent professional personnel in administrative leadership positions from neglecting their duties, provide an opportunity to a large number of professional personnel to engage in school administration, and encourage those people with aspirations to make their contributions in school administration before their tenure runs out. The appointment of Huang Wenhui and company as vice presidents is in conformity with the spirit of this policy.

The Harbin Institute of Technology is one of our well-known industrial universities offering a variety of courses. The four newly-appointed vice presidents are all red and expert professional cadres developed by the university following the establishment of the republic. They have all given active support to the line, the guidelines and the policy laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They all have considerable administrative ability and have served the Harbin Institute of Technology for a number of years. They are experienced in teaching, in scientific research, and in the actual work of school administration. They are all between 50 and 55 years of age.

The appointment of the four vice presidents was made following thorough investigation and the canvassing of a wide range of public opinion by the department concerned, according to stipulations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL POLITICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 81 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Implement the Guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, Strengthen and Improve Ideological-Political Education in Schools"]

[Text] Learning and implementing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" in order to strengthen and improve ideological-political education in schools at various levels and of different categories is a very important task on the educational front at present.

Ideological-political education has its own important role in school work. It is primarily determined by the fact that education in our country is of socialist nature. We must continue to implement the guiding principle that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor and to adhere to the socialist direction for running a school. Socialism must have not only a high-level material civilization, but a spiritual one as well. Students at schools today will become a vital new force after graduation to participate in the construction of the modernizations and to shoulder up a historical responsibility to build a socialist material civilization and a spiritual one. Whether the students cultivated at schools today will support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have deep love for the socialist motherland, or imbued with the awareness and ability to serve the people is an important matter which hinges the future and destiny of our state.

At present, the main ideological trend of students are good. They ardently love their motherland, look forward to the "four modernizations," support the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the conclusion of the 3rd Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, value the overall situation of stability and unity, concern themselves with affairs of state, work vigorously for the good, and study diligently. As a result, large numbers of students who are equipped with the three virtues and advanced collectives appear before us. In recent years, schools at various levels and of different categories have strengthened education in the four basic principles, devoted major efforts to building a socialist spiritual civilization, and carried out such activities as "five teachings and four virtues" and "learning from Lei Feng [7191 6912] to revolutionize the general mood," and thereby went a step further bringing about a great deal of gratifying atmosphere. However, we must also see that various trends of thoughts in society, especially the bourgeois ideological trend of liberalization which intends to keep away from the leadership of the party has been reflected in schools time and again. Some of

the students have only a vague idea about or even an erroneous understanding of the four basic principles. Some other students lack a revolutionary ideal and thus give rise to the thought of individualism and anarchism. Situation as such has pointed out the fact that it is altogether necessary to further strengthen ideological-political education in schools.

The key of doing a good job in ideological-political work in schools lies in strengthening and improving leadership of the party. After experiencing the 10 year period of calamity and in view that we are presently at the time of a historical turning point, it is neither surprising nor frightful to witness various problems among the students. The question is whether school party organizations and leading departments at various levels can conscientiously pay close attention to ideological-political education. By facing up to problems which objectively exist, many schools have strengthened ideological-political education with a clear cut stand and in a convincing way. They have achieved successes and accumulated experience. Achievements must be fully affirmed. At the same time, we must also see that some problems still exist in ideological-political work in schools. We must not overlook or deny certain trends of oversimplicity and cruelty that exist in our work. However, the problem which is presently more in need of our attention is the existing state of laxation and softness. People dare not and cannot criticize erroneous trends because once they do so they would be criticized as coming down with a big stick on somebody. If this situation is not altered, it will jeopardise the healthy growth of the young students, hamper the development of socialist democracy and be detrimental to the overall situation of stability and unity. School is the place to cultivate the new socialist generation and it is the cradle of social spiritual civilization. A very important task of school party organizations is to use the Marxist world outlook and the communist morality to educate the broad masses of students, to resist the influence of the decadent capitalist ideology and the remnants of feudal ideology, to overcome the petty bourgeois ideology and to enhance the spirit of building an enterprise through arduous effort by dedicating oneself heart and soul to the cause of modernization. Should school party organizations fail to use Marxism-Leninism to occupy the ideological front in schools and let various non-proletarian ideologies run rampant, it would mean that they have given up their responsibility of exercising leadership.

In order to alter the situation of laxation and softness in the ideological-political work, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism must be properly applied. Carrying out criticism and self-criticism is a fine tradition of our party and a correct method for solving contradictions among the people. Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have had a successful experience of properly applying criticism and self-criticism. We also have had leftist errors due to the fact that the two kinds of contradictions that are different in nature were incorrectly distinguished and handled, and oversimplified, rude, compulsory and oppressive measures were taken to treat ideological problems among the people. Under the new historical situation, we must correctly sum up historical experience and lessons. While we are not allowed to repeat the leftist mistakes of the past, we also are not permitted to confust carrying out criticism with coming down with a big stick on somebody, nor to throw away the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, to give up ideological work, or to let the bourgeois ideological trend of liberalization and other erroneous ideologies spread unchecked.

At present, in order to strengthen ideological-political education, it is necessary to organize the broad masses of teachers, students, staff members and workers in schools to spend a certain period of time together to study the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." It is necessary to maintain close links with reality in order to have a definite object in view for solving major problems regarding ideological understanding and to carry out in depth an education pertinent to adhering the four basic principles. Schools at various levels and of different categories must also carry out for students in the light of different age groups education in patriotism, in Marxist-Leninist theory, in communist morality and quality, and in encouraging deep love for arduous work and struggle.

Ideological-political education needs constantly to accumulate and sum up experience, and to probe objective laws. For this reason, it is necessary to establish a crack and stable political work contingent. This is the organizational guarantee for strengthening ideological-political education in schools. Both school teachers and political cadres alike are educators as well as teachers of students. A teacher teaching a special course should be encouraged and esteemed for doing a good job. Likewise, a political cadre should equally be encouraged and esteemed for enhancing the ideological awareness of students. People think that a teacher is similar to a gardener. To compare with a specialized course teacher, a political cadre as a gardener must be more capable of finding out what the students are thinking or be more skillful in dealing with people. He is also more in need of better training in politics, ideology and in knowledge. Therefore, he should be even more respected. At present, contingents of school political cadres face problems of shortage of manpower, lack of sense of stability and lack of successors which are incompatible with the requirements for strengthening ideological-political education. Propaganda and educational departments as well as school party organizations at all levels should help cadres constantly enhance their ideological level and working ability. At the same time, practical measures should be adopted to solve their real difficulties and to encourage them setting their minds at rest in order to do a good job.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his article "On the Question of Correctly Handling the Contradictions Among the People": "With regard to ideological-political work, each individual department has its responsibility. The Communist Party has to take care of it, so do the Communist Youth League and governmental departments. However, school masters and teachers should do the most." In order to strengthen ideological-political education in schools, school party organizations should, first and foremost, be bold enough to shoulder and be adept in the responsibility of leadership. All teachers and cadres in schools should be mobilized to do ideological-political work. At the same time, we must bring the role of the Communist Youth League into full play so that members of the League can be educated to influence young students by their own exemplary actions. Student associations and unions of educational workers also should try hard to do ideological-political work well. Teachers in a socialist country must both carry out classroom teaching and instruct students on how to conduct themselves in society. Since liberation, our contingents of teachers, after tempering themselves and receiving party education for years have become qualified to do a good job in ideological-political work for students. Some old teachers who are more experienced and academically more learned are often more convincing in applying their own experience to enlighten and educate students. They should be encouraged to do more ideological

work. School party organizations should continue to conscientiously implement our party policy toward intellectuals and to bring the initiative of teachers into full play in order to give them a more important role in carrying out ideological-political work for students.

Cultivating a new socialist generation is a common cause of the entire party and the whole society. Only by coordinating school education closely with family and social education can we achieve better results. Especially people of theoretic, literary and art, press and publication circles are closely linked with ideological-political education in schools. Good movies, dramas, songs and theoretical articles can arouse the youth' enthusiasm for revolution and point out to them the future path and therefore play an important role to help them shape their revolutionary outlook on life. Unhealthy or seriously erroneous works usually exercise corrosive influence on souls of the youth and add difficulties to school education. It is hoped that comrades working on the ideological front can be fully aware of the glorious responsibilities on their shoulders, attach importance to social effects of their works, and make a positive contribution to the cause of cultivating the next generation. The resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has provided a powerful ideological weapon for strengthening and improving ideological-political education in schools. The CCP Central Committee has given a series of important instructions pointing out the direction for strengthening ideological-political work.

All of these are very encouraging conditions. It is an objective reality that some difficulties exist in the ideological-political work in schools. However, we the educational workers should fully understand the responsibilities on our own shoulders, overcome our negative and overcautious attitude, pluck up our spirits, work hard, constantly study new situation and create new experience so that we may strive to bring up a new socialist generation not only developed morally, intellectually and physically in an allround way, but both politically conscious and progressionally competent as well.

9560

CSO: 4005/845A

CONFUCIUS' HUMANITARIANISM REASSESSED, DEFENDED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yan Beiming [0917 0554 3298]: "A Discussion of Confucian Humanitarianism"]

[Text] Humanitarianism as well as the question of human nature used to be forbidden zones, considered crimes, not to speak of the humanitarianism of Confucius!

In the spring of 1962, in response to an invitation, I sent the Shandong Conference on Confucius an article, "On Benevolence--the Central Concept of Confucian Philosophy and Its Emanation," which mainly expounded the idea that the Confucian doctrine of benevolence was manifesting a kind of ancient humanitarianism and was in its nature historically progressive. What a disaster this brought upon me! Not only did I get a mad tongue-lashing at that time already in the so-called "summing up speech" by that bully Guan Feng [7070 6912], but later, in the winter of 1966, I was sent under escort like a criminal to Qufu to be subjected to a "struggle-criticism" at an anti-Confucius rally of 10,000 people. In my heart I absolutely refused to give in; imagine, human beings rejecting humaneness, could one possibly profess the way of wild beasts? Later, the facts proved day by day that there was indeed in this world a handful of such people who rejected humaneness and only professed the way of beasts, such scoundrels as the "gang of four," whose actions were inhumane, who strangled all human nature and gave free rein to bestiality. They distorted history, wrote long articles on the Confucian question, fabricated a great historical injustice merely for the purpose of framing and persecuting millions of cadres, common people and intellectuals.

I still maintain to this day that grasping the humanitarian spirit in the Confucian doctrine is the core question in a reassessment of Confucius. This great historical personality, Confucius, influenced the cultural and mental fabric of our fatherland for 2,000 years. His outstanding contribution consisted in this very aspect, a point which is also the subject of intensive study by foreigners.

I recall that when I participated in a symposium with several American scholars who were on a visit to Shanghai last summer, there was among them the president of an Association for the Study of Chinese Culture. I asked him: "What is the overall impression that you gained in your studies of Chinese culture?" In the first sentence of his reply he mentioned Confucius with an expression of heartfelt reverence. He saw much sense in such sayings as: "Do not do unto others what you would not like others do unto you;" "In carrying out the rules of propriety, a peaceable manner is to be prized;" "Within the four seas, all men are brothers;" and he believed that this high esteem of peacefulness and brotherhood of mankind

embodies a spirit that is worthwhile advocating even in our days. I was greatly amazed to hear this American scholar recite by memory and with great facility these sayings of Confucius and to furthermore give them a practical applicability. I was particularly struck by another word from the same person: "Cultivating the humanitarian spirit inherent in Chinese culture and represented by Confucius should guide the American and the Chinese people in their joint efforts to safeguard world peace!" This will of course evoke much shaking of heads among those who regard humanitarianism as a reactionary crime. However, I was thinking at that time that it would be inappropriate to engage in voluble talk on Marxism with these scholars to an extent of involving their governments, but found that talking with them on humanitarianism, we still speak a common language. At the same time it gives us much food for thought that to our surprise it is a foreigner who places Confucius in such a high position, while some "Chinese" clamor noisily to cut down Confucius.

The culture that Confucius represents is, needless to say, mainly a feudal culture, but feudal culture also contains elements of a democratic character. There is first of all its inseparable connection with the humanitarian tradition pioneered by Confucian respect for man and concern for man. Humanitarianism is of class character and also changes in its substance with the changing times. There is the humanitarianism of the feudal landlord class (which for the first time did not regard slaves and peasant-serfs as cattle), there is the bourgeois humanitarianism (which raised such slogans as freedom, equality and universal fraternity), and there is also socialist humanitarianism (which by way of the proletarian revolution and dictatorship will thoroughly abolish all classes and eliminate exploitation). In view of their different characters, they must not be confused among each other. However, there still remains the question of a critical acceptance of our cultural inheritance. Since we are determined at present to build up a socialist spiritual culture, we must not write off at one stroke the national cultural tradition represented by the Confucian humanitarian spirit. Past neglect of the study of "national conditions," past rejection of our cultural inheritance and the past "great cutting down of cultural life" [a pun on "Great Cultural Revolution"] must have taught us a profound lesson.

Confucius was the first thinker, politician, educator and moralist in our history to set forth a systematic doctrine which has as its central concept "benevolence," that is, humanitarianism. The progressive nature of this kind of humanitarianism, considering the conditions of the time, manifests itself in the following aspects:

Firstly, it acknowledged that slaves were also human beings. The slave-holders in ancient China were most inhumane. Slaves were not treated as human beings, even regarded as beings lower than cattle. Killing of slaves or burying them alive with their deceased masters was normal custom, with no laws or public opinion to stop or punish such practices. Confucius valiantly stepped forward in opposition. He even loudly condemned the use of tomb figures when he said: "Was he not without posterity who first made figures for burying with the dead!" Because the figures were used as "effigies of men (slaves)," Confucius exposed and condemned the cruel inhumanity of the slaveholders for killing and burying humans in a variant form. In general, the attitude toward the productive workers is always an important indicator for the different class standpoints, either progressive or backward. Confucius opposed killing or sacrificing humans in any form and advocated as the most important ethical norm to show compassion and concern for others. He also set forth such famous propositions as: "The benevolent man is kindhearted toward

others;" "If you wish to establish yourself, seek to establish others; if you wish to achieve, help others to achieve." No matter how narrow the class character or even how hypocritical these propositions were, the fact that there appears "man," that "man" is stressed so emphatically as the center of all thinking, and that "man" does not exclude slaves, including peasant-serfs, shows up the progressive trend toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period, brought about by a large number of slaves running away and fighting a continuous struggle of resistance. It shows, refracted in Confucius' mind, the tottering of spirit power and the rise of the position of man (including slaves). Some have voiced the opinion that the "man" in the Confucian Analects is limited to the nobility and does not include common men or slaves. This viewpoint is without the slightest foundation.

Furthermore, it is not only that Confucius demanded from the rulers that they regard slaves and peasant-serfs as human beings, starting out from his position of humanitarianism, he, one step further, put forward an entire set of political proposals for benevolent government and rule of virtue, to lighten the oppressive criminal laws, combat harsh government and heavy taxation and alleviate hostile class conflict. He strongly advocated "employment of people at the proper seasons" and "to make more beneficial to the people the things from which they naturally derive benefit." He attached importance to the development of production and the interests of the people, and in addition admonished the rulers: "If the people have plenty, will their prince be left to want alone? If the people are in want, could their prince enjoy plenty alone?" The common people's interests are to be taken as one's own interests. Undoubtedly, these proposals were put forward out of consideration for the long-range interests of the ruling class. At that time the declining reactionary class was unable to recognize their own long-range interests and thus could not accept the political proposals put forward by Confucius. Although this was the case, these proposals in themselves were of a certain benefit as they expressed the historical development and the oppression of the people, and were possibly welcomed by the subsequent newly arriving landlord class. The early Han Dynasty and its "Cautioning Against the Failures of the Qin Dynasty" also summed up the doctrines of various schools of the past. After decades of probing and searching, it was only Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty who finally adopted a policy of "sole reverence for the ways of the Confucian scholars." This was conforming to the need of the upper structure to adapt to the objective laws of fundamental economic nature and must not be regarded as an accidental historical mistake. Historical experience clearly demonstrates that whenever in any historical era a ruler displayed even only a little humanitarianism, followed the Confucian propositions of benevolent government and rule by virtue, diligently attended to government affairs, showed solicitude for the people and set a good example himself, there was social stability, production developed and history continued to move forward. In the opposite case, it was hardly possible to avoid the dire fate of the Qin Dynasty. Moreover, the political thoughts of Confucius, their emphasis on reality and their active and optimistic outlook, especially also their humanitarian spirit as further developed in the criticism of subsequent progressive thinkers, created under certain historical conditions a "canonical" foundation for resistance against wilfulness and cruelty of the ruling class and for exposure of their political abuses. It also became the ideological weapon, the firm maintenance of the people's standpoint, in the struggle against those in power.

Furthermore, how are we to interpret the saying: "Restraining oneself and restoring the rites, that is benevolence"? In my opinion this must also be considered in the spirit of humanitarianism. "Benevolence" lies within the scope of morality in human relations. The "rites" comprise the whole sphere of institutions, regulations and social norms, in actual fact that political sphere. In Confucianism, the "benevolence" and the "rites" stand in the relationships of morality and politics. The two are closely integrated according to the principles of humanitarianism and form one unified inseparable entity of politicized morality and moralized politics. The overall demand is to have such benevolence and such virtues as "honesty and consideration of others," "filial and brotherly attitudes" and the correct conduct of those in highest positions become the political objective and to exercise "restraint of oneself" and "persistence in one's endeavors" to manifest the unselfish spirit and the active and optimistic outlook of humanitarianism and achieve a most profuse flowering of morality. Throughout his life, Confucius was anxious and always on the go as if to exemplify the humanitarian spirit of the saying "benevolence is the burden which he considers it is his to sustain." To stubbornly insist that "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" meant to restore slavery, can be nothing but ignorance and senseless barking. The feudal morality, undoubtedly, had the Confucian doctrines as its core. The "cardinal guides and virtues" of the Confucianist ethical code, whether added by later Confucianists or already germinating in Confucius' times, must be thoroughly rejected. However, the humanitarianism of Confucius is something of a quintessence of affinity to the people and democratic characteristics, which played an effective role throughout history in raising moral integrity, encouraging a rousing, optimistic and abundant national spiritual culture. Why not carefully and critically adopt it, rather than vainly trying to deny it totally in an attitude of historical nihilism?

Finally, it deserves to be emphasized that the Confucian humanitarianism is the product of a movement against the belief in spirits and ghosts. "The Master never discussed magic powers and unnatural demons." "The Master's discourses on nature and a divine order of things cannot be heard." "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve spirits?" These sayings may appear to be a few simple ideas succinctly expressed, they were not merely casual remarks made in those days. "To serve men" and "know life" are actual problems of life in society which Confucius considered important. "To serve spirits" and "to know death" as well as "nature and the divine order of things" are concepts that belong into the sphere of mysticism remote from reality, or even of absurd fantasy, and Confucius refused any discourse on these subjects. This attitude shows an instability of the Yin and Zhou Dynasty religious beliefs that set in toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period. The progressive trend of changing around the former positions of man and the spirits was basically and in particular a movement against religious beliefs and belief in spirits and ghosts. In Europe, humanitarianism or humanism was born in the Renaissance as an ideological weapon against feudalism and the Church. It advocated a world view of respect and concern for man, and made man the center of everything. The same world view was already expressed in the humanitarian doctrines of Confucius almost 2,000 years before the Renaissance, and it became later the fine tradition of Confucianism. In all fairness it must be pointed out that China was spared a dark age of Church rule as prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages. There are of course many reasons for that, but it must be admitted that one of the important reasons is the ideological tradition that has come down in one continuous line from this sage of the feudal era, a tradition that stressed the position of man and his present life on earth, that brushed aside spirits and ghosts and a

future life in the great beyond, in other words, a tradition that strove for humanitarianism and scorned the belief in spirits and ghosts. As to the fact that Confucius also spoke of "the decrees of Heaven," his concept of the decrees of Heaven was quite different from that of Yin and Zhou times, because he summed up the trend of the late Western Zhou period which changed around the former position of man and spirits, that is, he concentrated all his attention on the problem of "man" and thus of course adopted an attitude of doubt and denial toward the religious view with regard to the decrees of Heaven. For this reason, I fully agree with the opinion expressed by Comrade Guo Moro that one must not interpret the decree of Heaven, as used by Confucius, as "a fatalistic belief in divine predetermination, but rather as a natural inevitability in the world of nature." ("Shi pi pan shu" [Ten Books of Criticism]), or one may say, as the objective laws which are independent of man's will. It is completely preposterous to label Confucius as one guilty of believing in "divine predetermination."

As to the ideological principles of Confucian education, many comrades have already expressed themselves positively. We need not say anything more on this subject. Undoubtedly, the main content of this ideology was a full measure of humanitarian spirit. "To be content living without education is resembling an animal." In our present education we are just now stressing culture, good conduct and a new life style in educating and nurturing the new generation, things that are related to the humanitarian spirit. We are determined to build up not only a high degree of material culture, but also a high degree of spiritual culture. Once we start out from these considerations in our assessment of the Confucian viewpoint of humanitarianism, is it then not a matter of "being able to comprehend the rest of it"?

At the end of last year, I took part in a symposium on Confucianism at Qufu. Visiting again the place after the disasters of the past, all sorts of feelings welled up in my mind, and I wrote eight 4-line poems "In Memory of My Visit to Qufu," of which I shall reproduce the first poem as a conclusion to my short article:

The waters of the Si River [where Confucius taught] role on,
never to return.
I lingered for a while at the old site of the
Apricot Grove [where Confucius had taught].
Who is to judge the meritorious deeds and crimes of history?
The spirit of humanitarianism is being promoted by all the world.

8453

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

OUTSTANDING POST-CULTURAL REVOLUTION NOVELS PRAISED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Bai Chengyi [4101 1504 5030]: "A Talk About 'Long' and 'Short' Stories"]

[Text] During his lifetime, Lu Xun seemingly never devoted his time to writing relatively lengthy stories or medium- and full-length novels. As far as I understand, at the turn of the summer and autumn of 1932, following a meeting with Comrade Chen Geng [7115 6342], he planned to write a medium-length novel similar to the work "Iron Current." This plan was abandoned after he found that he did not have at his fingertips the necessary information on the life of the Red Army of workers and peasants. At the turn of August and September 1936, Lu Xun again devoted his thoughts to producing a full-length novel dealing with Chinese intellectuals covering four generations. Unfortunately, he died before he could pick up his pen and get this writing plan started. The invaluable legacy that Lu Xun left to us includes short novels, each covering only a few thousand words. Among them are "A Madman's Diary," "Geng Yiyi," "Medicine," and "Native Place." His most celebrated work, "The True Story of Ah Q," covers no more than 25,000 words. Another work, "Blessing," has only some 10,000 words. His work "A Small Thing" covers no more than 1,500 words. None of these novels is very long. However, they provide us with a full picture of the life of semifeudal and semicolonial society in China and a dramatization of various characters--namely, Ah Q, Madman, Aunt Xianglin, Geng Yiyi, Runtu, Juansheng, and Aigu, in addition to workers and capitalists. Today, more than half a century later, these characters remain as lively in the people's minds as they were in Lu Xun's time.

By contrast, our novels today appear too lengthy and too prelix. More often than not, a short story covers no less than 20,000 or 30,000 words, and a medium-length novel no less than 50,000 or 60,000 words or even over 100,000 words. They are really too verbose and too lengthy!

Medium-length novels are new types of literary works born in the wake of the "Great Cultural Revolution." During the past 2 or 3 years, they have become more popular than ever. According to statistics released by the National Medium-Length Novels Evaluation and Prize-Awarding Meeting held in Beijing recently, in 1980 alone a record number of more than 170 medium-length novels were published. Among them are such outstanding works as "Middle-Aged People" and "A River Without Visual Navigation Aids," widely loved and praised by readers.

The appearance of medium-length novels in large numbers presages something new to come. They can replace novels that seem too long or too short, while still retaining the tastes of the full-length novels. Such free and versatile literary styles should be encouraged and promoted.

But we must also realize that thus far, there is still no definite line between short stories and medium-length novels or between medium- and full-length novels. Some short stories as they appear today are actually medium-length novels; some medium-length novels have turned out to be full-length novels. As a result, the full-length novels in circulation have become unduly longer than ever. It seems that no one will be satisfied until he can expand his novel to 500,000 or 600,000 words. Today, such well-written short stories as "The True Story of Ah Q," and full-length novels as Lao She's "The Auspicious Camel Rider" (which has nearly 140,000 words) and Ye Shengtae's [5509 5110 7118] "Ni Huanzhi" (which has more than 170,000 words) have become nostalgic to us because similar works are rarely seen nowadays!

In order to reverse the trend in which short stories and medium-length novels tend to be too lengthy, I consider it necessary to restudy Lu Xun's experiences in writing novels. In his article "How I Go About Producing Novels," Lu Xun gave us the following instruction: Writing does not begin with what you see; quit writing when you cannot go on; you must review your finished work or words at least twice so that you can mercilessly strike out all nonessentials. Try your best to avoid being wordy in your works. Since your purpose is to get ideas across to the people, you should avoid in your works using ostentatious and decorative words that seem unnecessary. Nor should you depict the wind and the moon in novels. Conversations should be as brief as possible. When you portray a character, it seems better to mobilize the most "concise" and the "simplest" forms of language or "other dramatic methods" so as to concentrate on his eyes. "The most economical way to depict a person's special character is through the portrayal of his eyes. It is useless to depict his hair, however dramatic your depiction." These experiences from Lu Xun can help us to cut out those "nonessentials" from our works, improve their quality, and keep "our short stories and medium-length novels at a controlled length."

9574

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION FOR BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION EMPHASIZED

College President Stresses Northwestern's Role

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Li Bingde [2621 4426 1795], President, Northwestern Teachers College: "Do a Good Job in Educational Work; Build an Advanced Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of its founding, the CCP convened the Sixth Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee and passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State." Comrade Hu Yaobang also gave an important speech on 1 July. The "Resolution" sums up our experience during the past 60 years, especially the past 30 years, and points out the direction and path for us to march forward following Mao Zedong Thought. As an educational worker, I now see from this our country's future of unlimited brightness, and my spirit has been given a boost: my confidence and determination to do a good job in my work have become even more abundant.

In the old society, I used to think education was one of the ways for national salvation. But cruel facts told me: education not only was incapable of saving the China of that day, but in old China education could hardly even save itself.

On the eve of the country's liberation, I saw the motherland's new hope, which included hope for the future of education: I therefore made up my mind to return from abroad. What made me very glad was that in new China, under the leadership of the CCP, various enterprises engaged in construction were making great strides and becoming more prosperous every day, and educational enterprises also were achieving unprecedented development. Regrettably, however, because of various reasons within and outside [the return of] education, the development of educational enterprises suffered a certain limitation and failed to achieve the additional progress that could otherwise have been gained.

By the time of the "Cultural Revolution," educational departments became an area of serious disaster. Intellectuals became viewed as "the stinking ninth class," and there was fundamentally no way of broaching the development of educational enterprises and an increase in the quality of education.

The smashing of the "gang of four" brought the people new hope. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee effected a great historical turn and

made the strategic decision to shift the focus of our work onto the construction of socialist modernization. Under the guidance of the line and principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the national educational and scientific planning conference that took place in 1979 brought springtime to educational work anew. The feelings of educational workers were pleasant, and their zeal for work was great. But because people failed to achieve sufficient understanding of the nature, status, and role of education, and because their perception of the external and internal laws in education fell short, progress and improvement in educational work naturally remained subject to certain limitations.

It is now clearly pointed out in the "Resolution": "Socialism must have an advanced spiritual civilization. We must firmly eradicate such gross fallacies as denigration of education, science, and culture and discrimination against intellectuals--fallacies which have long existed and which found extreme expression during the 'Cultural Revolution.' We must strive to raise the status and expand the role of education, science, and culture in our drive for modernization. We unequivocally affirm that, together with the workers and peasants, intellectuals are a force to rely on in the cause of socialism, and that it is impossible to carry out socialist construction without culture and the intellectuals...." I think that when the intellectuals working on the educational front read this passage, they are all bound to be greatly encouraged, while on the other hand they are also bound to feel the heavy responsibilities they now shoulder.

The "Resolution" clearly points out: "The objective of our party's struggle in the new historical period is to turn China step by step into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology, and with a high level of democracy and culture." Here, whether in terms of the requirements of the four modernizations or in terms of the requirements of the high level of democracy and especially the high level of culture, it is obviously necessary for us educational workers to make our own indispensable, important contributions. This is not only because the amount of work involved is very great but, more importantly, also because these requirements are both new and high. New situations and new problems which we must study and solve will be continuously emerging in this situation, as will new educational laws which we will have to explore and discover. Hence, educational workers must make great efforts to carry out strenuous, careful, creative labor.

The Northwestern Teachers College is one of the generative institutions in Gansu Province; the quality level of the teachers it trains directly affects the quality of secondary and elementary education in Gansu Province, and the quality level of secondary and elementary education in turn directly affects the quality of training for personnel of various grades and categories. From this, we can see how heavy are the responsibilities of those who work in this institution! If we fail to double our efforts, it will be impossible for us to accomplish the tasks the party has conferred on us. I am determined to follow the spirit of the foolish old man who removed mountains, push aside all difficulties, and do all I can in order to do a good job of overseeing our teachers' education and building a socialist advanced spiritual civilization.

Education Called Key to Spiritual Civilization

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Zhu Jiusi [2612 0046 1835], Secretary of the Party Committee of Central China Institute of Technology: "Education Must Be Emphasized in Building Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," and thereby accomplished the historical task of returning to order from disorder with respect to the party's guiding ideology. Where should we now direct our energies? The leading comrades on the Central Committee say: "We should concentrate our main energies on considering how to make a go of our national economy, and at the same time consider how to effectively build our socialist spiritual civilization."

Building a spiritual civilization includes the two aspects of establishing lofty ideals, morals and customs, and heightening cultural and scientific knowledge. Heightening the level of the people's cultural and scientific knowledge depends on education; this is self-evident. Establishing lofty ideals, morals, and customs is also closely related to the development of educational enterprises. Youth and children make up the majority of our population today. They are all the objects of education and will all receive various forms of education; there are 204 million students studying just in fulltime schools of various kinds in the country. Schools have always been the bases where spiritual civilization is propagated. When school education is conducted well and the broad ranks of youths and children are trained to become a new generation of people with ideals, morals, knowledge, and strong physical strength, this influences the trend of the whole society. During the period of the "Cultural Revolution," the denigration of education, science, and culture and the discrimination against intellectuals reached their peak. The "gang of four" trumpeted "blank examination paper heroes" and trumpeted illiterates-cum-scoundrels; together with their other diverse perverse acts, they caused the fine social customs long shaped since the founding of our state to suffer serious disruption. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee overthrew the reactionary "two estimates" on the educational front and restored the student recruiting system at institutions of higher learning; this measure alone has already led to a change in social trends. It shows that in our attempt to build a socialist spiritual civilization and establish socialist morals and customs, we not only need to have correct propaganda guidance, to strengthen ideological and political work, and to perfect our legal system, but even more importantly we must restore and develop our educational enterprises. Directing our education well is the groundwork for building our socialist spiritual civilization. Because of the attention paid by the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our educational enterprises, which had been seriously trampled by the "gang of four," have been restored and have now gained a definite degree of development. But our education, whether in terms of quality or quantity, still has a very long way to go toward meeting the requirements for building our material civilization and our spiritual civilization. In particular, the long-standing "leftist" influence of denigration of education is

still not entirely eradicated in some departments and some localities today. Therefore, in concluding that socialism must have an advanced spiritual civilization, the "Resolution" emphatically points out that we must endeavor to elevate the status of education, science, and culture in our drive for modernization. This should have a great realistic significance and profound influence in the future.

Educational enterprises must set their sights on transforming society. Schools must not only train youths to acquire cultural and scientific knowledge but also enable them to entertain lofty ideals, communist morals, and noble sentiments. Lenin said: "We should convert all undertakings for fostering, educating, and training modern youths into enterprises for fostering communist morals among youths" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 351). This makes it necessary for schools of various kinds and at various levels to carry out in a practical way the educational policy of overall moral, intellectual, and physical development, and to strengthen and improve ideological and political education.

In today's school education, an important problem hampering the building of spiritual civilization is the partial emphasis placed on the sciences, accompanied by a denigration of the arts. The realization of the four modernizations requires large contingents of talented scientific and technological workers; hence it is entirely necessary to stress science and engineering. But it will be very difficult to train the vast ranks of youths into a new generation of people with ideals, morals, noble sentiments, love for the motherland, and a revolutionary spirit of dedication to the four modernizations if we fail to enable them to master the necessary linguistic and literary knowledge, historical and geographical knowledge, moral knowledge, and social knowledge in other aspects, or if they lack cultural cultivation as a foundation and depend only on a general imparting of ideological education. Yet, viewed from our institutions of science and engineering, no small number of our college students today not only lack knowledge of the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism but also tend to have a low linguistic and literary level. In particular, many people never learn any world history or world geography, and their understanding of Chinese geography and Chinese history, including China's modern history, is poor. Since they do not understand history, especially China's modern history, it is very difficult for them to understand the truth that "without the Chinese Communist Party there would be no new China," and that "only socialism can save China." In the face of a lack of such understanding of the motherland's long history, splendid civilization, vast territory, and rich resources, it would be rather abstract to stress patriotism to them. Along with our opening up to the outside world and with the development of diplomatic and trade relations and cultural exchanges with capitalist countries, the ideology and corrupt way of life of the Western bourgeoisie are bound to filter in. Certain things with which they can erode and affect us are in many cases old stuff long criticized in history. But because our youths lack knowledge in this regard, they often accept them as new and novel things. In all such cases, we cannot blame the youths and students, because they have not learned many things or have learned very little about them. This is a problem in our educational work and, in the final analysis, an evil consequence brought about by the 10-year catastrophe. The question now is how to change this situation relatively quickly. This should also be an important task in effectively building our socialist spiritual civilization,

But in today's university education, there is a partial emphasis placed on science (and engineering), accompanied by a denigration of the arts; specialty offerings are too limited and there are too few students recruited in the arts, while the teaching curriculum in science and engineering, apart from a few subjects on Marxist-Leninist theory, basically includes no subjects in the humanities and social sciences. This is very bad for accomplishing such a task. This partial emphasis placed on the sciences accompanied by a denigration of the arts in university education also affects middle school education. During the period of the "Cultural Revolution," the middle schools basically discarded subjects like history and geography. Although these have been gradually restored in the past few years, their contents are hardly versatile enough. And because many middle schools lack qualified teachers in these areas, the contents prescribed by the [official] syllabus can hardly be turned into reality. Especially because little attention is generally paid to them, and mainly because the universities recruit too few students for their departments of the arts, most students, when they consider the question of their further study, feel reluctant to register for examination for entrance into the arts departments. As a result, they aim only at studying mathematics, physics, and chemistry and generally pay little attention to studying subjects like language and literature, history, and geography. Many middle schools consequently prescribe that the subjects of history and geography need not be examined (only investigated) during the entrance examination. This is a question worthy of our careful study in our educational work at present.

Ours is an ancient civilized country with several thousand years of splendid culture and an extremely rich historical heritage. In trying to build our advanced socialist spiritual civilization today, we must, on the basis of a critical absorption of this historical heritage, emanate even more splendid brilliance of our own era. Training and fostering a socialist generation of new people constitute the concentrated manifestation of the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. This is of course our unshirkable responsibility as educational workers. It is our belief that, under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, if we conscientiously study and carry out the spirit of the "Resolution," our educational work is bound to achieve better results.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHOU YANG SUGGESTS WAY TO DEVELOP OPERATIC ART

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 81 p 5

[Article: "WENYI YANJIU No 3, 1981, Publishes Comrade Zhou Yang's Article, 'Further Innovation and Development of Traditional Operatic Art'"]

[Text] WENYI YANJIU No 3, 1981, which came out on 25 July, has published Comrade Zhou Yang's article entitled "Further Innovation and Development of Traditional Operatic Art." This article is excerpted from the author's speech at the work forum on traditional operatic repertoire, which took place in July 1980. The article sums up several decades of experience and lessons in our reform work on traditional operas and also puts forward some guiding opinions on how to further innovate and develop traditional operatic art.

Zhou Yang's article is divided into four parts. In summing up in the first part the several decades of our experience in the reform of traditional opera, the article says that after the founding of new China: "We consciously endeavored to apply Marxist theory on critical inheritance of cultural legacies in order to reform traditional operatic art and unite the long cultural heritage in traditional operas in our nation and the spirit of the socialist new era as well as the cultural achievements in modern operas. This caused a sharp change in the outlook of traditional operas." Then the author makes the point of looking back at the history of ideological struggle and artistic struggle on the operatic front and the process through which the whole ranks of traditional operatic circles continued to elevate their scientific and cultural level, pointing out that, as "the history of over 30 years of operatic reform tells us, we must especially pay attention to preventing and overcoming crude practices." "Those things that are beneficial, whether they are from classical operas or from modern operas, should always be carefully preserved." "Rejecting both conservatism and crudeness: this may be said to be an important experience in over 30 years of our operatic reform." The article further states: "Continually elevating the scientific and cultural level of the entire ranks of traditional operatic circles, promoting the development of artistic creations and theoretical research in traditional operas, and enabling traditional operas to become an art with a complete system better able to reflect the new era and new life: this is the goal toward which we have consistently directed our efforts in pursuing our work in operatic reform." "We should take the elevation of the scientific and cultural level and artistic cultivation of traditional operatic workers and the training of a new generation

as a strategic task. We must create conditions for their study and advancement so that their vision will be broadened and their knowledge will increase, thereby enabling them to become artists with fairly comprehensive cultural and artistic accomplishments.

In the second part, Zhou Yang places emphasis on his views on "enriching and innovating traditional operatic art." Comrade Zhou Yang says: "We must enrich and innovate the repertoire of traditional operas, and elevate the ideological and artistic level of such repertoire. Our fundamental principle is still 'Let a hundred flowers bloom; weed out the old to bring forth the new.' On this we must not have any doubt or wavering. On the matter of our repertoire, we must on the one hand do our best to achieve comprehensiveness and versatility and to aim at innovation and avoid repetition and monotony; on the other hand, we must also follow the direction of serving the people and serving socialism, impart education through recreation, and refrain from drifting toward confusion. Toward the staging of repertoire, we must relax our requirements and refrain from resorting lightly to proscriptions; so long as a program is not politically reactionary or designed to propagate obscenity and violence, it should be allowed to be staged. We must formulate policies on such repertoire that meet our needs; we must adopt relevant administrative measures; and, most important of all, we must adopt social forms to solve ideological questions in art by relying on public opinion in society and operatic reviews." On "weeding out the old to bring forth the new," the article says: "Since our culture and art are, generally speaking, socialist, then weeding out the old to bring forth the new in operatic art is mainly to bring forth the socialistically new. Socialism is in turn inseparable from democracy and patriotism; therefore it is also to bring forth the democratically and patriotically new. Whatever reflects realistic life and historical life with such a new spirit artistically, including the traditional operatic repertoire sifted and revised with this spirit, generally speaking belongs to the realm of socialist culture." Comrade Zhou Yang's article also states: "Modern operas, traditional operas, and newly written historical operas are all needed by the people, and they must all be developed and improved. It is improper to advocate any 'principal' category, since that would be easily subject to mishandling and would hardly be beneficial to the realization of the double-hundred principle." "What each kind of opera and each operatic troupe is fit to perform may be different, with selective emphasis, and may be subject to a division of labor; we must not deny a division of labor or treat every kind and every troupe the same way." "But insofar as the requirement of the overall trend of development in operatic enterprises is concerned, we should put emphasis on modern operas." "In the case of the various indigenous operas, because they are close to the local communities and because their forms are also fairly free and lively and more susceptible to the reflection of modern life, they should be allowed to give as much scope as possible to their strongpoints in this regard."

Comrade Zhou Yang's article states: "If we decide to work on modern operas, then we must do a good job in this regard; we must raise their quality, not only paying attention to their ideological character but also studying their dramatic character and their literary character. We must not simply produce run-of-the-mill products." "Our modern history of the revolution basically has as its core our party history and military history; it touches on important historical events and historical personalities. We must endeavor to follow the authentic and not resort to imagination and fabrication." "We must be especially prudent."

Zhou Yang's article also holds that "in the case of certain traditional operas which have become controversial as well as influential among the masses, while they have serious faults in terms of their ideological content, they may demonstrate certain characteristics in their stories and artistic performance and have become well known and liked by the audience. In such circumstances, we may organize the forces of operatic circles to discuss and revise them anew and carry out experimental performances. This is also one aspect of our effort to 'rescue our legacy.'" "We must encourage the operatic artists' spirit of innovation and dauntlessness in creation, so that they will not be afraid of failures; if they fail, they can start all over again. Without such a spirit, it would be impossible to reform our rich operatic heritage with its up to 1,000 years of historical tradition."

In addition, Zhou Yang's article expresses some views on the questions of innovating the stage art of traditional operas and reforming the system of operatic troupes.

The article states; "Through the long, devoted creativity of the vast ranks of artists and talented performers, our operatic art has forged very sophisticated and singularly characteristic techniques of performance and distinctive styles and schools. But because these have all been brought about under the historical condition of insufficient development of material conditions in the past, they show certain limitations. Along with the changes in the times, advances in science and technology, and changes in material conditions, the performing techniques in art are bound to undergo changes and become more and more versatile. The staging of traditional operas must undergo some reform and improvement before it can meet the demands of the current era and present-day audiences." "It is hoped that stage artists will preserve the characteristics of traditional operas in order to keep them susceptible to the inherited techniques of performance, on the one hand, and confer upon them the sense of the time and break through sterile conventions on the other hand."

The article also points out that an "operatic troupe" is a trade in cultural service; it has a solemn responsibility to educate and entertain the people. It must be operated according to artistic laws as well as economic laws. But after all, it is a group engaged in ideological work, and not one with a simple, profit-making goal. It is engaged in artistic work and undertakes to educate the people and entertain the people. It must pay attention to economic laws and the value of the box office, but those are not primary. What is primary is ideological and cultural value, artistic value. It will not do if an operatic troupe does not pay attention to the value of the box office or economic accounting; but first of all it must take into consideration how it affects the people's thinking, whether it facilitates an improvement of the people's ideological consciousness and esthetic interest, and whether it facilitates an improvement of the level of our operatic culture or our culture and art as a whole. An operatic troupe and various performing groups should all consider these questions first, and not put economic targets in the position of primary importance.

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